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# THE ENEIS,

BOOKS I. AND II.

RENDERED INTO

ENGLISH BLANK IAMBIC,

WITH

NEW INTERPRETATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY JAMES HENRY, M.D.

Still govern thou my song,  
Urania, and fit audience find, though few.

LONDON:

TAYLOR AND WALTON, UPPER GOWER-STREET.

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WILLIAM HOLDES, PRINTER, ABBEY-STREET, DUBLIN.

I RESPECTFULLY dedicate to the Reverend Doctor  
FRANC SADLEIR, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, this attempt  
(the first, I believe, of foster-son of that College), to elucidate the  
great Latin Epic.

JAMES HENRY.

FITZWILLIAM-SQUARE, DUBLIN ;  
SEPTEMBER, 1845.



I BEG to return my grateful acknowledgments to my kind friends, GEORGE DOWNES, Esq., Ballitore, THOMAS NOBLE COLE, Esq., East Park-street, Dublin, and to my brother, THOMAS ELDER HENRY, Esq., Glenageary Cottage, Kingstown, for numerous suggestions and corrections, contributing much to the accuracy and completeness of this translation.

An explanation of some peculiarities in the style will be found in note (*l*), page 83 ; and note (*p*), page 101.

I have thought it unnecessary to complicate and disfigure the printing with marks, indicative of the many elisions and unusual *ictus*, required by the rhythm, believing that the absence of such aids will not be felt by readers otherwise capable of understanding the work.

J. H.

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v.

Of the following words and passages, those marked (\*) have been newly interpreted; those marked (†) newly illustrated.

# BOOK I.

|                                    | Lat. ver. |                                    | Lat. ver. |
|------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| † Martis arma -                    | 1         | * Ubi templum illi -               | 416       |
| † Prima -                          | 24        | * Pars ducere muros -              | 423       |
| * Claustra -                       | 56        | † Adultos foetus -                 | 431       |
| and En. ii, 259.                   |           | * Aerea cui gradibus surgebant     |           |
| * Celsâ sedet Eolus arce -         | 56        | limina, nixaeque Aere trabes       | 448       |
| * Abdidit -                        | 60        | * Afflictis -                      | 452       |
| * Conversâ cuspide -               | 81        | and En. ii, 92.                    |           |
| * Impulit in latus -               | 82        | * Inermes -                        | 487       |
| * Aperit Syrtes -                  | 146       | and En. ii, 67.                    |           |
| * Reductos -                       | 161       | † Subnectens bellatrix ..... audet |           |
| * Aequora tuta -                   | 164       | virgo -                            | 492       |
| * Rapuitque in fomite flammam -    | 176       | † Dardanio Eneae -                 | 494       |
| * Heros dividit -                  | 196       | † Regina ad templum, &c. -         | 496       |
| * Vertice caeli (see addenda) -    | 225       | * Juga -                           | 498       |
| * Unde per ora novem.....It mare   |           | and En. ii, 631, and 801.          |           |
| proruptum -                        | 245       | * Solioque alte subnixa -          | 506       |
| * Caeli.....arcem (see addenda) -  | 250       | * Non metus, &c. -                 | 548       |
| † Cana Fides, et Vesta, &c. -      | 292       | * Decoram Caesariem nato gene-     |           |
| * Jura dabunt -                    | 293       | trix, &c. -                        | 589       |
| * Dirae ferro et compagibus arctis | 293       | † Quale manus, &c. -               | 592       |
| * Crispans -                       | 313       | (see also addenda)                 |           |
| * Haud equidem tali me dignor      |           | * Quae me cunque vocant terrae -   | 610       |
| honore -                           | 335       | * Munera laetitiamque dei (see     |           |
| † Genus intractabile bello -       | 339       | addenda) -                         | 636       |
| * Huic conjux Sichaeus erat -      | 343       | * Regali splendida luxu -          | 637       |
| * Primisque jugârat Ominibus -     | 345       | * Ne quâ scire dolos, &c. -        | 682       |
| * Pygmalionis opes -               | 364       | † Inscia Dido, Insideat, &c. -     | 718       |
| † Aut capere, aut captas jam de-   |           | * Quae tardis mora noctibus ob-    |           |
| spectare videntur -                | 396       | stet -                             | 746       |

# BOOK II.

|                                 |    |                                    |    |
|---------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|----|
| * Infandum, regina, jubes reno- |    | * Insonuere cavae, &c. -           | 53 |
| vare dolorem -                  | 3  | * Trojamque aperiret Achivis -     | 60 |
| * Infandum dolorem -            | 3  | † Danaûm insidias -                | 65 |
| * Quaeque ipse miserrima vidi - | 5  | * Depositâ tandem formidine -      | 76 |
| * Incipiam -                    | 13 | † Fortuna finxit....improba finget | 79 |
| † Tot jam labentibus annis -    | 14 | * Falsâ sub proditione Pelasgi -   | 83 |
| * Huc delecta virum, &c. -      | 18 | (see also addenda)                 |    |
| * Classibus hic locus -         | 30 | † Cassum lumine lugent -           | 85 |
| † Validis ingentem viribus..... |    | (see also addenda)                 |    |
| contorsit -                     | 50 | * In arma -                        | 87 |
| * In latus, inque feri, &c. -   | 51 | † Et verbis odia aspera movi -     | 96 |

|                                   | <i>Lat. ver.</i> |                                      | <i>Lat. ver.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| * Et quaerere conscius arma       | - 99             | † Postesque sub ipsos                | - 442            |
| * Tum vero ardemus scitari et     |                  | * Caecaeque fores                    | - 453            |
| quaerere causas                   | - 105            | † Postesque relictī                  | - 454            |
| † Saepe illos aspera ponti Inter- |                  | * Evado                              | - 458            |
| clusit hyema, &c.                 | - 110            | and 731.                             |                  |
| * Nec dulces gnatos exoptatum-    |                  | * Turrim in praecipiti stantem       | - 460            |
| que parentem                      | - 138            | * Quā summa labantes Juncturas       |                  |
| † Mihique haec edissere           | - 149            | tabulata dabant                      | - 463            |
| * Fluere                          | - 169            | † At domus interior.....tectis in-   |                  |
| † Hic aliud &c.                   | - 199            | gentibus                             | - 486            |
| † Improvida                       | - 200            | * Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus |                  |
| † Horresco referens               | - 204            | istis                                | - 521            |
| * Fit sonitus spumante salo       | - 209            | † Concidit                           | - 532            |
| * Arva                            | - 209            | † Coruscum Extulit ..... abdidit     |                  |
| * Spiris                          | - 217            | ensem                                | - 552            |
| (see also <i>addenda</i> )        |                  | † Jacet ingens littore truncus, &c.  | - 557            |
| * Vincula collo Intendunt         | - 236            | † Dant clara incendia lucem          | - 569            |
| † Collo                           | - 236            | * Abdiderat                          | - 574            |
| * Ipso in limine portae           | - 242            | † Nostri                             | - 595            |
| * Ora, dei jussu non unquam cre-  |                  | † A navibus                          | - 613            |
| dita Teucris                      | - 247            | * Respice                            | - 615            |
| † Velamus                         | - 249            | † Nimbo effulgens                    | - 616            |
| † Flammas quum regia puppis       |                  | † Summis in montibus                 | - 626            |
| Extulerat                         | - 256            | † Congemuit                          | - 631            |
| † Primusque Machaon               | - 263            | * Avulsa (see also <i>addenda</i> )  | - 631            |
| * Raptatus bigis                  | - 272            | * Fulminis afflavit ventis et conti- |                  |
| † Tumentes                        | - 273            | git igni                             | - 649            |
| * Ut te.....aspicimus             | - 283            | † Fundere lumen apex....Lambere      |                  |
| † Quanquam secreta parentis &c.   | - 299            | flamma comas                         | - 683            |
| † Summi fastigia tecti            | - 302            | † Jupiter omnipotens....pater        | - 689            |
| * Quo res summa loco              | - 322            | † Stella, ...Signantemque vias       | - 694            |
| * Quam prendimus arcem            | - 322            | * Domum                              | - 702            |
| † Talibus Othryadae dictis.....   |                  | * Regione viarum                     | - 737            |
| quo tristis Erinys                | - 336            | * Heu! misero conjux &c.             | - 738            |
| * Perque domos et religiosa De-   |                  | * Oculis nostris                     | - 740            |
| orum Limina                       | - 365            | * Commendo sociis, &c.               | - 748            |
| * Arma dabunt ipsi                | - 391            | † Illicet ignis edax                 | - 758            |
| * Conduuntur                      | - 401            | * Nec te comitem portare Creusam     |                  |
| and 621, 696, 748.                |                  | Fas, &c.                             | - 778            |
| † Lumina                          | - 406            | * Opima                              | - 781            |
| * Arcebant vincula palmas         | - 406            | and En. i, 621 (see <i>errata</i> )  |                  |
| * Clipeos mentitaque tela         | - 422            | † Arva Inter opima virūm             | - 782            |
| * Ora sono discordia signant      | - 423            | † Dilectae....Creusae                | - 784            |
| * Vices Danaūm                    | - 433            | † Deseruit                           | - 791            |
| * Ad tecta ruentes                | - 440            |                                      |                  |

# THE ENEIS.

## BOOK I.

- (a) I AM the same that whilom tuned my song  
On slender oat, and, issuing from the woods,  
The neighbouring fields beneath the farmer's yoke  
Greedy, compelled; and won the tiller's thanks :
- (b) But now I sing Mars' horrent arms, and him 5  
Who, fugitive by fate, from Trojan clime  
To Italy erst came and shore Lavinian.

[The numerical reference at the commencement of each note is to the Latin verse.]

(a) *Ille ego*, &c.—Imitated both by Spenser and Milton :—

Lo! I, the man whose muse whylome did maske,  
As time her taught, in lowly shepheard's weeds,  
Am now enforst a farre unfitter taske,  
For trumpets sterner to chaunge mine oaten reeds,  
And sing of knights' and ladies' gentle deeds.

*Faerie Queene*, st. 1.

I who erewhile the happy garden sung.

*Par. Reg.* v. 1.

(b) V. 1. — *Martis Arma*. *Martis* joined with *arma* is not (as a hasty view has led some commentators to suppose,) supererogatory; because *arma* is not a specific term, corresponding to the English *arms*, and like it applicable only to *martial weapons*, but a general term, applicable to *all kinds of implements, martial, agricultural*, (Georg. i, 160), *nautical* (En. v, 15), *culinary*, (En. i, 177,) &c. *Martis* is therefore

a proper adjunct to *arma*, and in the present instance peculiarly proper, because it was incumbent on the poet, well to distinguish between the *arma*, the subject of his present poem, and the *arma*, of which he had treated in that former poem, to which, in the passage before us, he makes direct reference. Having formerly defined the *arma*, of which he was then treating, as those *quae sint duris agrestibus*—*Quae sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes*, (Georg. i, 160), he now defines the *arma*, which form his present theme, to be *arma Martis*: hence, as from every observation which tends to show the correctness of their diction, an additional argument in favor of the authenticity of the four introductory lines of the Eneis. For a further argu-

He much on land, by force of the supernals,  
 And on the deep was tossed, because of stern  
 Juno's remembering ire ; in war too suffered 10  
 Much, whilst a city founding, and into  
 Latium Gods bringing ; whence the Latin race,  
 And Alban fathers, and high, fortified Rome.  
 The causes tell, O Muse ; offended how  
 Her deity, or for what personal smart, 15  
 So from misfortune to misfortune drove,  
 From toil to toil, the queen of heaven, that man  
 (c) Of piety conspicuous. Possible  
 That heavenly bosoms know those burning ires ?

Toward Italy and Tyber's disembogue 20  
 Looking from far, the ancient city once  
 Of Carthage stood, a Tyrian colony,  
 Of rich resources and war's roughest school ;  
 Which, than all other lands, than Samos self,  
 Juno 'tis said more cherished : here her arms, 25  
 Her chariot here, and here, (might by some means  
 Fate's acquiesce be won,) already aimed,  
 Already wrought the fostering Goddess' care,  
 To found an empire that should rule the world.  
 Nor, that from Trojan stock a scion even then 30  
 Was springing, which should sometime overturn  
 Her Tyrian citadels, had she not heard ;  
 Whence, monarch far and wide, and of proud war,  
 A nation should arise to the overthrow

ment, derived from the same source,  
 see note En. ii, 247.

See *addenda*, for Tasso's imitation  
 of Horrentia Martis Arma virumque  
 cano, &c.

(c) V. 11.—*Tantaene animis &c.*

In heavenly spirits could such perverseness  
 dwell?

*Par. Lost*, vi, 788.

Final of Libya ; so the Parcae rolled. 35  
 Moved by this fear Saturnia, and remembering  
 (d) The long war which for Argos dear she chief  
 Waged against Troy—nor from her mind outfallen  
 The causes of that ire, those bitter smarts ;  
 Deep in her soul storehoused the judgment lay 40  
 Of Paris, and her injured beauty's slight,  
 The races hatefulness, and Ganymede's  
 Rape-honors—kindled with these fires beside,  
 From Latium far she warded, and o'er all  
 The wide-sea plain hither and thither tost, 45  
 The Trojans, relict of the Danaï  
 And stern Achilles ; and for many a year  
 Round many a sea they wandered, fate-impelled :  
 The work so vast to found the Roman name.

Scarce out of sight of land Sicilian, toward 50  
 The deep sea were they spreading forth their sails,  
 Joyous, and cutting the salt foam with brass,  
 When Juno to herself, the eternal wound  
 Still nursing in her bosom :—" Me desist  
 Vanquished, from my emprise ; and Teucris's king 55  
 Impuissant to avert from Italy ?  
 Banned by the fates, forsooth ! The Argive fleet  
 Could Pallas burn, and whelm the crews in the sea,  
 For sole Oilean Ajax' insane trespass ?  
 Herself Jove's rapid fire launched from the clouds, 60  
 Their ships storm-scattered, the sea-plain upturned,  
 And him, his transfixed breast expiring flame,

(d) V. 24.—*Prima*, sciz. princeps omnium ibi bella geruntium. See En. iv, 133, where *primi* is used in the same sense ; also, Ter. Eun. ii, 11, 7—"Est genus hominum, qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt, nec sunt."

- (e) Caught in a whirlwind and on sharp crag spiked ;  
 But I, who walk heaven's queen, Jove's sister both  
 And consort, with one race so many years 65  
 Wage war ; who Juno's nod henceforth adores  
 Or on her altar, suppliant, lays the honor ?"  
 In breast of flame these thoughts revolving, comes  
 The Goddess to Eolia, fatherland  
 Of storm-cloud ; womb, of Auster's rage prolific. 70  
 Here in vast cavern Eolus' tyranny  
 The winds reluctant and sonorous storms  
 Holds subjugate, and curbs with chains and dungeon ;  
 About the shut indignantly they roar  
 (f) Of the resounding mountain ; Eolus, 75  
 Wielding his sceptre, sits enthroned aloft,  
 And soothes their spirit, and their passion tempers ;  
 Else their swift flight, lands, seas, and sky profound  
 With them would bear along, and through air sweep ;  
 But in black caves, the sire omnipotent 80

(e) V. 45.—*Turbine corripuit, &c.*  
 Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurled,  
 Each on his rock transfixed.—*Par. Lost*, ii, 180.

(f) V. 56.—*Celsa sedet Eolus arce.*  
 Heyne, whose interpretation of this passage is silently acquiesced in by Wagner, understands Eolus to be represented as seated on an arx or eminence or peak of the mountain outside the cave in which the winds are confined, — *Celsa in arce, extra antrum, alto in montis cacumine*, infra (v. 140), *aula dicta, seu regia* ; but, 1st—the picture thus presented of sceptred Eolus seated outside on a peak of the mountain, within which the winds are confined, is not very far removed from the ridiculous ; 2ndly—the words *vasto antro* are placed so much more immediately in contact with the words *rex Eolus* than with the words *ventos tem-*

*pestatesque*, that it is hardly possible to doubt that they are connected with the former and not with the latter, and that their meaning is, *King Eolus in a vast cave, keeps down the winds with his empire*, and not *King Eolus keeps down with his empire, the winds in a vast cave*. 3rdly—the *aula* in which (as admitted by all commentators), the arx was situated, is plainly declared by the epexegetic *et* in Neptune's message to Eolus, (v. 140), to be one and the same with the *carcer ventorum*. 4thly—it is not easy to conceive how Eolus could, from his seat on the arx exercise his office of mollifying the spirits and tempering the anger of the winds, (*celsa sedet Eolus arce, mollitque animos et temperat iras*), if the arx were outside the mountain, and the winds within.

- (g) This fearing, stowed them ; and a mass o'erpiled,  
 Of mountains high ; and skilled by rule prescribed,  
 To check or loose, when bid, the reins, a king  
 Gave them ; whom, in these words, thus Juno then  
 Suppliant addressed :—" O Eolus, for to thee 85  
 The sire of Gods and king of men, has given  
 The waves to soothe, or with the wind to raise ;  
 The Tyrrhene float, inimical to me  
 A nation navigates, to Italy  
 Ilium transporting, and her conquered Gods. 90  
 Strike strength into the winds, and sink their ships,  
 Or scatter ; and with corpses strew the deep.  
 Twice seven fair nymphs are mine ; fairest of whom  
 Sweet Deiopeia, in firm marriage bond  
 For such deservings high, with thee I'll join ; 95  
 That thine alone she may for ever be,  
 And of a beauteous offspring make thee sire."  
 Eolus replied :—" 'Tis thine, O queen, to explore  
 What thy will would ; mine, to perform thy bidding ;  
 This modicum of empire, and this sceptre, 100  
 And patron Jove, and that with Gods I feast  
 Recline, is of thy bounty ; and of storm cloud  
 And tempest thou hast made me potentate."  
 (h) So having said, the mountain's concave side

(g) V. 60.—*Abdidit*. Not *hid*, as commonly rendered, but *stowed away*, or *put away in a place by themselves*, Jupiter's intention not being to put the winds in a place where they could not be found, but in a place where they might be under control. So *abde* is to be understood in Georg. iii, 96, and numerous other places where it is commonly rendered *hide*. *Abdo* ; *ab-do*, to put or stow away ; this is not only the literal, but the more usual meaning of the term, its secondary or derived meaning to *hide*, being comparatively rare.

(h) V. 81.—*Cavum conversâ cuspide montem Impulit in latus*. "Egregie dei et potentia et impetuosum obsequium declaratur, uno sub ictu monte (non ut olim accipiebam in latus dimoto, verum) latere montis percusso hasta dei, perrupto et sic patefacto"



He pushed with converse spear-point; forth the winds, 105  
As 'twere in cohort, through the opening rush,

.....“*hastam intorquet, immittit, ruptaque rupe viam ventis facit qua erumpant.*”—*Heyne*. This interpretation, also tacitly accepted by *Wagner*, is no less erroneous than that of *Celsa* *sedet Eolus arce*, (see note v. 56), because, 1st—the act described by *Heyne*, viz., that of making with a cast of a spear such an opening in the side of the mountain as would allow the winds to rush out in a body, is impossible; the spear, cast with such force as we may suppose a God to have exerted, might, indeed, penetrate the side of the mountain, but could not by any possibility break it down, or make the considerable opening in it which is indicated by the words *qua data porta*, and *agmine facto*; 2ndly, if *Eolus* had thus flung his spear against the side of the mountain, it was incumbent on *Heyne* at least, if not on *Virgil*, to have explained what became of the spear; whether it “*stetit tremens*,” like *Laocoon's* in the side of the wooden horse, in which case the spear filling up the opening made by itself, there would have been no passage for the winds; or whether, having penetrated the cavity, it fell on the inside, or passed clear through the mountain; in either of which cases, the further explanation would have been required, how it happened that none of the winds were wounded; 3rdly,—it is little likely that *Virgil* would either have represented the winds, (who should necessarily be let loose every time a storm was required, and be brought back to their confinement as soon as their business was done), as confined in a place without vent or outlet, or if the place had outlets, that he would have described *Eolus* as making no use of them, but unnecessarily breaking down the walls, and destroying the security of the enclosure for the future; 4thly—if the cave had no outlets, the *claustra* mentioned

at v. 56, must mean the solid resisting sides of the mountain itself; in which case it is but a sorry, un-*Virgilian* picture which the winds afford, *frementes*, not about outlets, through which they had before frequently obtained their liberty, and hoped soon to pass free again; but every where round the solid hopeless parietes of their enclosure; 5thly—*impello* never means *intorqueo*, *immitto*, but always, simply, *to push*. See note to B. ii., v. 50. As *prima est virtus vitium fugere*, so these objections to the received, lead directly to the correct, interpretation. *Impulit*, he, sciz., being inside the cave, (see note v. 56), pushed, *cuspidē* with the point of his spear, *cavum montem in latus*, the hollow mountain on the side, or the side of the hollow mountain, sciz, that part of the side of the mountain which, (being moveable and serving like a door or shutter to *close*, *claudere*, the vent or outlet), is at v. 56 called *claustra*—see note to B. 2, v. 259. *Conversâ cuspidē* with the point of his spear turned (sciz. from the position in which he had previously held it), towards the side of the mountain; so, (En. ix, 427), *in me convertite ferrum*. The poet, no doubt, imagined *Eolus* holding his spear in an upright position with the reverse end resting on the ground, while *Juno* addressed him, and by the words *conversâ cuspidē*, describes his changing its position from upright to horizontal, so as with the point to push open the *claustra*. *Conversâ cuspidē* is to be carefully distinguished from *versâ hasta*, (v. 478), *versa* meaning *inverted*; *conversa* turned or changed from one position to another. Nor is *cuspidē* to be taken figuratively, for the whole of the spear, but literally, for the point, which part alone came into contact with the *claustra*. The calm words and composed demeanour of *Eolus*,

- The land sweep wide, and on the sea incumbering,  
 (i) Eurus, and Notus, and the weight conjoint  
 Of squally Africus, the depths upturn,  
 And surge the billows shoreward. Follows then 110  
 The shout of sailor, and the scream of cordage;  
 Clouds snatch from Trojan eyes, the sky, the day;  
 Black on the sea broods night; thunder the poles,  
 And ether flashes lightning; all things round  
 Threaten death instant: laxed with sudden chill 115  
 Eneas' limbs; and with deep groan, and palms  
 (k) Toward heaven up-stretched, he cries:—"O happy thrice,  
 And four times happy, death whose lot to meet  
 Before Troy's high walls, in their fathers' sight!  
 Bravest of Greeks, Tydides, why this life 120  
 By thy right hand could I not have effused,  
 And fallen on Ilian plain, there where great Hector  
 By weapon of Eacides lies low,  
 (l) Where huge Sarpedon; where so many caught

who uses only such moderate force (expressed by the word *impulit*) as was necessary to throw open the *claustra*, are not only in good keeping with the dignity of the God, and prison-governor, but in fine contrast with the furious rush and uproar made by the winds the next moment. If it be asked why I have thought it necessary to adduce a long series of arguments to establish an interpretation, which a single argument (No. 5 above), is sufficient to set beyond the possibility of doubt, I beg to reply that my object was less to establish my own interpretation, than to show the numerous absurdities involved in that proposed by Heyne, and sanctioned by Wagner, and by thus taking some little, here in the very outset, from the prestige attaching to those justly esteemed authorities, to render the

reader less unwilling to accompany me, when on some future occasions I shall invite him to enter upon paths widely devaricating from those which they have marked out, and rendered almost classical.

(i) V. 85.—*Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt.*

Nor slept the winds  
 Within their stony caves, but rushed abroad  
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell  
 On the vexed wilderness.—*Par. Reg.*, b. iv.

(k) V. 94.—*O terque quaterque beati.*  
 Somewhat strangely translated by Douglas,

O seven tymes how happy, and how happy blest  
 were they.

(l) V. 100.—*Ubi tot Simois correpta  
 sub undis [volvūt.  
 Scuta verum galeasque et fortia corpora*

In justice to the Manes of Virgil, I shall place in juxtaposition with this and two other passages, also in the

In Simois' rushing waters, shields and helms      125  
 And corpses of the brave are rolled along?"  
 Midst his ejaculation, Aquilo,  
 With strident squall, the sail strikes right aback,  
 And lifts the waves to heaven; crash go the oars,  
 The prow veers round, and sidelong lays the ship      13  
 To the sea-mountain tumbling from on high:  
 Those on the wave's crest hang; the gaping sea trough  
 To these the bottom shows, and furiously  
 Seething, the sand: three Notus away snatches  
 And whirls on the lurking rocks, which, midsea, rearing  
 Just to the waters' level, their broad back,  
 Are by Italian sailor called **THE ALTARS**:  
 Three Eurys from the deep, a piteous sight,  
 Urges towards shoaly Syrtes; on the banks

first book of the Eneis, their English representatives; I say their English representatives, because Dryden's may be truly regarded as the only translation of Virgil which is known or read in England. The literal English of the above lines is—*Where Simois rolls so many shields and helmets and brave bodies of heroes, snatched under his waves.* There is not one word more or less or different from these in the original; now hear Dryden:—

Where Simois rolls the bodies and the shields  
 Of heroes, whose dismembered hands yet bear  
 The dart aloft, and clench the pointed spear.

Again, v. 166:—

Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum  
 Intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,  
 Nympharum domus.

*Under the opposite front, a cave in the hanging crags; within, sweet water, and seats of the living stone; house of the nymphs.* Hear Dryden:—

A grot is formed beneath with mossy seats,  
 To rest the Nereids and exclude the heats,  
 Down through the crannies of the living walls  
 The crystal streams descend in murmuring falls.

Once more, v. 416:—

Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo  
 Ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.

*Where a temple and hundred altars glow for her, and breathe of fresh garlands.* Hear Dryden:—

Where garlands ever green and ever fair  
 With vows are offered and with solemn prayer;  
 A hundred altars in her temple smoke,  
 A thousand bleeding hearts her power invoke.

Such, from beginning to end, with scarcely the exception of a single line, is Dryden's translation of the Eneis—"the most noble and spirited translation," says Pope, "which I know in any language"—that translation, whose very announcement, we are informed by Sir W. Scott (see his *Life of Dryden*), put all literary England into a ferment of expectation—that translation which Johnson tells us, "satisfied Dryden's friends, and for the most part, silenced his enemies"—that translation which, up to the present day, is the only recognised representative at the court of English Literature, of the sweet, modest, elegant, and always correct muse of Virgil.

Dashes, and girds with dunes : that one, which bore 140  
 Faithful Orontes and his Lycian crew,  
 Right on the poop, a huge sea from above  
 Strikes fore the hero's eyes ; the master out  
 Is shaken, and upon his head rolled prone ;  
 Itself thrice round in the same place the wave 145  
 Drives whirling, and the swift sea-vortex swallows :  
 Then in the gurgling vast are here and there  
 Men swimming seen, and floating arms and planks  
 And Trojan riches. Now of Ilioneus,  
 And now of brave Achates, hath the weather 150  
 Mastered the stout ships ; all, with ribs' compacture  
 Loosened, admit through rifts the showering foe.

Meanwhile the sea's uproarious disorder,  
 And that a storm was loose let, and the bottom  
 Stagnants' regurge, Neptune with grave emotion 155  
 Wares, and, outlooking from his sea-roof, lifts  
 Above the undulant his head serene :  
 Over the whole sea-plain disject he sees  
 Eneas' fleet ; and Troy's sons by the waves  
 Mated, and ruining skies ; nor to her brother 160  
 Juno's intriguing ire uneath to read.  
 Eurys before him called, and Zephyrus  
 He thus addresses :—" In your kind have ye  
 Such confidence ? and do ye dare, ye winds,  
 The sky, and earth, without my deity's nod, 165  
 So to confound, and raise these hugy masses ?  
 I will—but first the troubled waves behoves  
 Compose ; another time like fault ye rue  
 With unlike penalty : fly with all flight,

And tell your king, that not his lot, but mine, 170  
 The awful trident, and the sea's empire ;  
 He hath those rocks immane, where, Eurus, ye  
 Inhabit ; in that hall let Eolus  
 Bluster, and in the closed winds-prison reign."  
 He says, and swifter than the word, placates 175  
 The tumid waters ; the collected clouds  
 Routs, and brings back the sun. Cymothoë  
 Same time, and Triton, straining to the heave,  
 The ships from the sharp rock detrude ; himself  
 (m) Levers with trident ; and the syrtes vast 180

(m) V. 146.—*Aperit syrtes*. All the commentators and translators adopt Heyne's interpretation of this passage, "via ex arenosis vadis facta, ut naves exire possent ;—refer ad tres naves," (v. 110, 11). But the addition of *vastas* to *syrtes* shows plainly that the action of *aperit* is not merely on that part of the syrtes where the three ships were imbedded, but on the *vast* syrtes or the syrtes generally. I therefore take the meaning to be, that the God opened the syrtes, *i.e.* made them "*apertas*," open or safe for ships, by levelling them where they had been raised into partial inequalities by the storm, and by spreading the water evenly upon them, of such depth that vessels could sail over them without danger : the three imbedded ships were thus set afloat again. *Vastas aperit syrtes*, so understood, harmonises well with *temperat aequor* ; for the sea ceased to break on the syrtes when they were levelled and deeply covered by the water. It is probable that *apertas* was the term ordinarily applied by seafaring men to express the safe state of the syrtes, or that state in which they were covered by water of depth sufficient for vessels to sail in. The same term is applied to the sea itself, both in our language

and in Latin ; *Aperto mari navigare*. (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 1. 2, c. 46.) The poet, having stated the precise manner in which the God removed the other three ships from the rocks, judiciously avoids a similar particularity of description with respect to those which had been imbedded in the sand, leaving his reader to conclude that the ships were not neglected, when the shoals, in which they were imbedded, were made open and navigable. The account which Sallust (Bell. Jugurth. c. 80) gives of the syrtes goes to confirm this explanation—"duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa impares magnitudine, pari natura : quorum proxima terrae præalta sunt ; caetera, uti fors tulit, alta ; alia in tempestate vadosa : nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire caepit ventis, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt ; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur : Syrtes ab tractu nominatae." Sallust's account of the Syrtes, dressed in poetical language, becomes Virgil's ; and Virgil's turned into plain prose, becomes Sallust's. The historian describes the winds and waves as rendering the Syrtes now *vadosas*, now *altas* ; while the poet ascribes the same effect to the agency

Opens ; the sea assuages, and o'er all  
 The wavy summits skims on lightsome wheels.  
 As oft, amid the multitudinous  
 Assembled people, rises an emeute,  
 And fiercely ramps the crowd's ignobleness, 185  
 And stones and burning brands begin to fly,  
 Fury's own weapons ; then, if, chance, a man  
 Of grave respect for piety, appear,  
 And merits, hush with ears arrest they stand ;  
 Whilst with his words that man their vehement 190  
 Spirit controls, and soothes their chafing breasts :  
 So fell the waters' fragor, as the sire  
 Took prospect of the sea, and, through the clear  
 Serene careering, wheeled his horses' flight,  
 And to his prospering chariot flung the reins. 195

The tired Eneadae, struggling to make  
 The nearest land, turn toward the Libyan coast.  
 In long secess a place ; the perfect port  
 Made by an isle's obtenture, on whose sides  
 Breaks every wave in-rolling from the deep, 200  
 (n) And splits into deep-dented sinuses :

of Eurus and Neptune, the former of whom *illidit* (*naves sciz.*) *vadis, atque aggere cingit arenae*, i. e. makes the Syrtes *vadosas*, and dashes the ships upon them ; the latter *aperit syrtes*, i. e. makes the *vadosas*, (the shallow and impassable, and therefore, closed) *altas* (deep and passable and therefore open, *apertas*) and thus frees and sets afloat the ships. Our author makes a precisely similar use of *aperio*, En. 10. 13, *Exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas* ; and thus we come round to that very common phrase, and use of the verb *aperio*, *apertus campus*.

\* B

(n) V. 161.—*Sinus reductos*. As it is impossible for a wave to cut itself (*scindere sese*) except into parts of itself, *sinus* must be (not as understood by some commentators and translators, *sinus litoris*, but) as rightly understood by Heyne, *sinus undae*, sciz. *the hollows*, or *sinuosities*, into which the wave cuts itself on the projections of the island. Heyne is, however, as I think, widely astray in his interpretation of *reductos*, which expresses, not *the reflux of the wave*, but, *the permanent depth or concavity of the sinuses*, into which the wave, (i.e. the water's edge,) is cut ;

- Vast rocks on each side, and twin cliff sky-threatening ;  
 (o) Below, the ~~undangerous~~ waters' silent width,  
 O'erhung with leafy shimmer, and the black  
 And shuddering scenic of woods imminent ; 205  
 Neath the front opposite, and pendant crags,  
 A grotto : waters sweet within, and seats  
 Of the living stone ; the Nymphs' house : here no chains  
 Hold the tired bark, no crook-bite anchor ties.  
 With seven, of all his fleet, collected, here 210  
 Eneas enters ; the land-amorous Trojans  
 Debarking, occupy the wished-for strand,  
 And stretch upon the shore their brine-steeped limbs.  
 And first, the stricken flint-spark, caught in leaves,  
 Achates with dry nutriment surrounds, 215  
 (p) And in the fuel hurries up the flame ;  
 (q) Then, of the world sore tired, their sea-spoiled Ceres,  
 And Cerealian requisites, they ready,

sciz. as that depth, or concavity, would be represented in a chart. So, *reductâ valle*, En. vi, 703 ; *reductis alis constiterant*. Liv. xxii, 47.

(o) V. 164.—*Aequora tuta silent*. The commentators understand *tuta* in its passive sense, of *being safe* or *protected*, sciz. *ipsa aequora* ; “a ventorum vi defensas”—Forbiger ; “als particip. passiv. *gesichert*.”—Thiel. But, 1st, it were foreign to his subject, and little short of puerile in Virgil, thus to assign a reason for the silence of the sea within the cove. 2ndly.—This is not the meaning of *aequora tuta*, where it occurs again, En. v, 171. I therefore understand *tuta* to be here taken, if I may so say, *actively* ; and to mean, as in En. v, 171, (and in Nepos, Themist. c. 2 “*Prædones maritimos consecrando mare tutum reddidit*”), *safe for ships*. So understood, *tuta* is not only in the best harmony with Virgil's subject, and

especially with lines 168, 169, but with its own verb ; *the sea was not merely safe for ships, but so safe as to be even silent*.

(p) V. 176.—*Rapuitque in fomitem flammam*. *Rapio* is here used, not in its secondary, or derived, and most common sense, *to rap, snatch, or seize*, but in its original, and more abstract, sense of *hurrying, or performing with rapidity, the act (of whatever kind,) indicated by the context*. So Livy, xxx, 14, “*Raptae prope inter arma nuptiae*.” So also Tacitus, Hist., iii, 30, “*Rapi ignes Antonius jubet* ;” although perhaps there may be some degree of doubt, whether it is in this sense that Tacitus uses the word, and not in its more common sense of *seizing, or snatching*, as En. v, 660, “*rapuitque focus penetralibus ignem*.”

(q) V. 178.—*Fessi rerum*. Not simply wearied, but, *fessi, wearied ; rerum, of their condition, of the world*.

And set about to scorch, and with quern-stone  
To break the corny fruits, now theirs again. 220

- (r) Meantime Eneas the cliff-top ascending,  
Prospects the sea wide round, if visible  
Storm-beaten Antheus and the Phrygian biremes,  
Or Capys, or the lofty poops that bear  
Caicus' arms: no ship, but on the shore 225  
Wandering, three stags he sees, whom the whole herd  
Follows, in long train feeding through the vallies;  
He stands, and from Achates' faithful bearing,  
Snatching his bow and swift-spiced arrows, first  
The leaders, carrying high their antlered heads 230  
Arboreous, overthrows; the vulgar crowd  
Then with his aimed shafts driving, not surceases  
Among the leafy boskets to confound,  
Till on the sward his victory has stretched,  
Numbering the ships, seven hugy carcasses: 235  
These, to the cove returning, he divides  
To all his comrades; then dispensing round  
The wine, those well-filled casks, of good Acestes  
The gift at parting on Trinacria's shore,  
(s) Their heart-grief with these words the hero cheers:— 240

(r) V. 180.—*Eneas scopulum, &c.*

Up to a hill anon his steps he reared,  
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,  
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote or herd;  
But cottage, herd or sheep-cote none he saw,  
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,  
With chaunt of tuneful birds resounding loud.

*Par. Reg., b. ii.*

(s) V. 196.—*Heros dividit, &c.* *Heros* belongs to *dividit*, not to *dederat*, because, first, if it belong to *dederat*, the long series of verbs, *videat, prospicit, constitit, corripuit, sternit, miscet, ab-*

*sistit, fundat, aequet, petit, partitur, dividit, mulcet*, being left wholly without a nominative, the attention is directed rather to the acts themselves than to the actor; which cannot be supposed to have been the intention of the poet, the actor being no less a person than the hero of the poem. 2ndly, *Dederat*, inasmuch as it is joined by the conjunction to *onerarat*, shares its nominative, *bonus Acestes*, and has no occasion for any other. 3rdly, In the



" O my comates, no novelty to us  
 Misfortune ; O my fellow-sufferers  
 In worse afflictions past, these too will heaven  
 Bring to a happy end ; ye have approached  
 Close to the rage of Scylla, and the crags 245  
 Thorough-resounding ; even of Cyclops' rocks  
 Tells your experience ; call your spirit back ;  
 Dismiss sad fear ; some future time perhaps  
 Ye shall find solace in this retrospect  
 Also : through various chances and so many 250  
 Conjunctures critical we press toward Latium,  
 Where destiny points out our peaceful home,  
 And heaven permits Troy's empire re-arise :  
 Dure, and for prosperous days reserve yourselves."  
 Such words he utters, and with huge cares sicked, 255  
 Feigns hope upon his countenance ; in his heart  
 Compresses the deep anguish : they gird up  
 To carve the booty and prepare the feast ;  
 Flayed are the ribs, and bare the viscera laid ;  
 Some cut and fix upon the spits the junks 260  
 Quivering ; some braziers on the shore dispose  
 And serve with flame ; they eat and are refreshed ;  
 And, stretched upon the grass, take their full fill  
 Of ancient Bacchus and fat venison.

accurate language of Virgil, *heros* applied to *dederat*, in addition to its other nominative, would imply that there was something peculiarly heroic in Acestes's giving the wine, which yet was not the fact. See Note to v. 552, book ii. 4thly, It would have been rather derogatory to the hero of his poem, if Virgil had thus unnecessarily applied the term *heros* to so very unimportant and secondary a personage as

Acestes, at the very moment when he was leaving Eneas without any appellation or even so much as a bare mention of his name. 5thly, *Heros* placed just before the last of the long series of verbs descriptive of the acts of Eneas, draws back the attention, and places it on the hero of the poem even more powerfully than if it had been placed at the beginning of the series.

Appeased their hunger, and the board removed, 265  
 In long discourse they mourn their comrades lost,  
 Doubtful twixt hope and fear, if yet they live,  
 Or the worst suffer, and hear not when called :  
 Pious Eneas most ; whose inward heart  
 Now the misfortune moans, of keen Orontes 270  
 And Amycus ; now Lycus' cruel fate,  
 And the brave Gyas and Cloanthus brave.

- (c) And now they ceased ; when Jupiter from top  
 Of highest ether, on ship-traversed sea,  
 Low-lying land, and coast, and nation wide, 275  
 Down-looking, stood, and fixed his eyes on Libya :  
 Him in his breast these cares revolving, thus  
 Venus addresses, pouting ; and the tear  
 Swims her bright eyes :—" O thou, whose everlasting  
 Command rules heaven and earth, whose thunder scares ;  
 Of what so grievous sin guilty towards thee  
 Is my Eneas, are Troy's sons, 'gainst whom,  
 Patient already of so many deaths,  
 Earth's orb is shut because of Italy ?  
 Assuredly, that hence, in rolling years, 285  
 Should come the Romans ; leaders hence arise  
 Of Teucer's blood regenerate, all lands  
 Holding in thrall, and seas, thou promisedst ;  
 What sentiment reverses thee, O sire ?  
 Troy's fall and direful ruin, with this hope 290  
 I went to solace, weighing fates with fates ;

(d) V. 223.—*Quum Jupiter, &c.* For see his Mother Hubbard's Tale, v.  
 Spenser's imitation of this passage, 1225, and seq.  
 and of Mercury's descent from heaven,

But now her victims the same fortune sues ;  
 What end, great king, appointest of our toils ?  
 In safety could Antenor, from the thick  
 Elapsed of the Achivi, penetrate  
 The gulphs Illyrian, and Liburnia's core,

295

(u) Beyond Timavus' fount, through whose nine mouths

(u) V. 244.—*Fontem superare Timavi.* "Restat ut hoc moneamus, *fontem Timavi* h. l. pro ipso Timavo dici." Heyne, Exc. 7, ad En. 1. But if *fontem Timavi* signify *ipsum* (sciz. *fluvium*) *Timavum*, *unde* must be equivalent to *ex quo fluvio Timavo* ; and how it is possible to render *ex quo fluvio Timavo* it *mare proruptum*, et *pel. pr. ar. son.*, so that it shall not be downright nonsense, I cannot perceive. *Unde—it.* "Hinc ille it." Heyne. Ibid. But *ille* must refer either to *fontem Timavi*, or *Timavi* ; if to the former, the sentence *fontem superare Timavi unde ille* (sciz. *fons Timavi*) it, is nonsense, whether *Fons Timavi* be understood in its simple and literal meaning, or with Heyne, as equivalent to *fluvius Timavus* ; if to the latter, the structure contradicts the Latin idiom, which requires the pronoun to be supplied from the whole, not from a portion of the preceding subject, and in conformity with which it is impossible to doubt that Virgil (if he had intended to express that the *fluvius Timavus* issued from the fountain) would have written *fontem superare unde Timavus it.*

*Mare proruptum* — "ad maris speciem, magnos fluctus volventis." Heyne, *ibid.* But, 1st—*mare proruptum* were a most extravagant metaphor to apply to a river admitted by Heyne himself to have been no more than one thousand yards long. 2ndly — To repeat (unnecessarily, too) in *pelago* the same metaphor which he had used in *mare proruptum* in the very same line, were

altogether repugnant to the good taste and the practice of Virgil. 3rdly—If this interpretation be correct, *pelago premit arva sonanti* is little more than a mere tautology of, *it mare proruptum*. All these difficulties, or, to speak more correctly, all these absurdities, may be got rid of, by entirely throwing away the interpretations of the commentators, and translating the sentence according to the plain and natural construction, and the literal meaning of the words. *Fontem superare Timavi, unde*, (sciz. *ex quo fonte Timavi*) *mare proruptum* it, *the burst-forth sea goes* (i.e., the sea bursts forth), et *pel. pr. ar. son.* Or, in plain prose, the sea communicates subterraneously with and bursts out through the fountain of Timavus, making a roaring noise, and deluging the fields, (*pelago*) with the salt water. Understanding the passage thus, we not only give to *fontem Timavi*, and *mare proruptum*, their plain and literal meaning, and to the verb *it* the nominative, with which Virgil (as if to prevent all possibility of mistake) has placed it in immediate juxta-position, but obtain an explanation why Antenor is said to have passed not the *river* but the *fountain* Timavus, sciz., because it was not the river which was the remarkable object, but the fountain, out of which the sea used (probably in certain states only of the wind and tide) to burst with a roaring noise. I cannot comprehend how so acute a scholar as Heyne should not only have been aware of a subterranean communication between the sea and the

The sea outbursting, stirs the mountain echo,  
 And the fields crushes with its sounding swell :  
 Here stablished he withal, the Teucrian seat                    300  
 And city of Patavium ; to his people  
 Assigned a name ; his Trojan arms uphung ;  
 And now in placid peace composedly rests :  
 But we, thy progeny, to whom thy nod  
 (x) Heaven's high place grants ; our ships (infandous !) lost,  
 We are betrayed, an individual ire  
 To gratify, and from Italian coast  
 Wide severed. Is it thus our piety  
 Thou honorest ? Our restored sceptre this ?"  
 The sower of Gods and men, with that aspect                    310  
 Which stills the storms, and smooths the ruffled skies,  
 Touched with his lips his daughter's lips and smiled :—  
 " Spare thy fear, Cytherea," then he said,  
 " Thy Trojan fates stand stedfast ; thou the promised  
 Walls shalt behold and city of Lavinium,                    315  
 And to the stars of heaven shalt bear aloft  
 Magnanimous Eneas ; nor reversed  
 Am I of sentiment ; he, (for because  
 This care reminds thee, I will speak ; and further  
 Before thy view roll on, the arcane of fate,)                    320

fountain of Timavus (see his Exc. 7, ad En. i), but have actually described (ibid.) the bursting out of the sea through the fountain, and yet not have perceived that this very bursting out of the sea through the fountain, was the one essential thing which Virgil wished to place before the reader. I may add that the observation of the fact of the salt or sea water issuing from the fountain and flowing down the course of the river, so as

apparently to supply a source to the sea itself, affords a much more probable origin of the ancient term *ὑψηλὴ θάλαττα*, and its modern translation, *La madre del mare*, applied by the inhabitants to the *fons Timavi*, than any supposed resemblance to a sea, which its breadth, rapidity, or roaring noise may have conferred on the river Timavus.

(x) V. 251.—*Infandum*. See second note to En. ii, 3.

He, mighty war shall wage in Italy,  
 Contund ferocious nations, to his people  
 A city build, and stablish a regime;  
 Till the third summer hath beheld him reign  
 In Latium, and three winters have o'erpassed 325  
 Since conquest of the Rutuli: his son,  
 The boy Ascanius, now Iulus surnamed,  
 (Ilus he was while palmy Ilium stood,)  
 Shall with his empire thirty great rounds fill,  
 With all their rolling months; and from Lavinium 330  
 The governmental seat to Alba Longa,  
 Upheld with all munificence, transfer.  
 Here, whole three hundred years, the dynasty  
 Hectorian rules; until, of Mars impregnate,  
 Queen-priestess Ilia brings twin burden forth: 335  
 Then, joyous in his nurse-wolf's tawny hide,  
 Takes Romulus the nation; walls Mavortian  
 Builds; and the people from his own name calls  
 Romans. To these no bound-stone I assign,  
 Nor epoch-limit; without end they reign: 340  
 Even asperous Juno, with her fears who now  
 Worries earth, sea, and sky, her backward counsel  
 Shall wiser take, and with me the toged nation  
 Of Romans cherish, masters of the world:  
 So have I willed. Elapsing lustra bring 345  
 An era, when Assaracus' house shall hold  
 Phthia in thrall, and brilliant-far Mycenae,  
 And o'er discomfite Argos dominate.  
 Of Troy's fair stock shall Cesar then be born;  
 Whose empire, ocean, whose high fame, the stars, 350  
 Alone shall limit; Cesar, Julius called,

From thine Iulus his great ancestor.

Laden with orient spoils, him into heaven

Shalt thou secure receive ; him too, with vows

Shalt hear invoked : then shall the sour-crabbed world 355

(9) Cease warring, and grow mellow ; hoary Faith

(9) V. 292.—*Cana Fides et Vesta*, &c. The simple meaning is *that men, ceasing from war, shall live as they did in the good old times, when they obeyed the precepts of Fides, Vesta, and Remus and Romulus*. [See next note.] It is sufficiently evident from Georg. i, 498 ; ii, 533, that the deities here mentioned were specially associated by the Roman mythology with that primitive epoch of the national history, to which the Romans (sharing a feeling common to all civilised nations that have ever existed) loved to look back as an epoch of peace and innocence ; for this reason and no other are they specified as the gods of the returning golden age here announced by Jupiter. I am unwilling so far to derogate from the dignity of this sentiment, as to suppose, with Heyne, that it contains an allusion to the trivial circumstance of the temples of Fides, Vesta, and Remus and Romulus being seated on the Palatine hill near the palace of Augustus ; nor do I think it necessary to discuss the opinion advanced by the late Mr. Seward, and preserved by Hayley, in one of the notes to his second Epistle on Epic Poetry, that the meaning is, *that civil and criminal justice shall be administered in those temples*, that opinion being based on the erroneous interpretation of *jura dabunt*, pointed out in note to v. 293.

The whole of this enunciation of the fates by Jupiter is one magnificent strain of adulation of Augustus. A similar adulation, although somewhat more disguised, is plainly to be read in every word of Venus's

complaint to Jupiter, and in the very circumstance of the interview between the queen of love and beauty and the *Pater hominumque deumque* ; that interview having for its sole object the fortunes of Eneas, Augustus's ancestor, and the foundation by him of that great Roman empire, of which Augustus was now the absolute master and head. Nor is the adulation of Augustus confined to those parts of the Eneis, in which, as in the passages before us, there is reference to him by name or distinct allusion ; it pervades the whole poem from beginning to end ; and could not have been least pleasing to a person of so refined a taste, where it is least direct, and where the praise is bestowed, not upon himself, but upon that famous goddess-born ancestor, from whom it was his greatest pride and boast that he was descended. Not that I suppose, with Warburton and Spence, either that the character of Augustus is adumbrated in that of Eneas, or that the Eneis is a political poem, having for its object to reconcile the Roman nation to the newly settled order of things ; on the contrary, I agree with Heyne that there are no sufficient grounds for either of these opinions, and that they are each of them totally inconsistent with the boldness and freedom necessary to a great epic. But nevertheless, without going so far as Warburton or Spence, I am certainly of opinion that Virgil wrote the Eneis in honor of Augustus : that he selected Eneas for his hero, chiefly because, as Augustus's reputed ancestor, and the first founder of the Roman empire, his praises would

(2) Shall legislate, and Vesta, and, with Remus,

(a) Brother Quirinus; the compaginate

redound more to the honor of, and, therefore, be more grateful to, Augustus, than those of any other hero with which the heroic age could have furnished him; and, still further, that he not only purposely abstained from introducing topics which might have been disagreeable to the feelings, or derogatory to the reputation, of Augustus, but also seized every opportunity of giving such tendency and direction to his story, and illustrating it with such allusions as he judged would be best received by him, and shed most honor and glory upon his name. Nor let this be called mere adulation; call it rather the heartfelt gratitude of the partial poet towards his munificent friend and patron, and the fulfilment and realisation of his allegorical promise to build a magnificent temple to him by Mincius' side.

— viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam

*Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat  
Mincius, et tenerâ prætezet arundine ripas.  
In medio mihi Cæsar erit, templumque tenabit.*

Georg. iii, 13—39.

(2) V. 293.—*Jura dabunt.* *Jura dare* is, primarily, to make and impose laws, to perform the function of lawgiver, and, therefore, secondarily, to rule—Cæsar dum magnus.....victor.....volentes Per populos dat jura. Georg. iv, 560. Hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. En. i, 731. See also En. iii, 187; v. 758; viii, 670, &c.

It is surprising that Heyne, having correctly interpreted *jura dabunt* in the passage before us, by *præerunt*, should afterwards, at line 507, fall into the common error, and confound *jura dare* with *jus dicere*, the meaning of which is to expound, explain, or lay down what the law is, to perform the office of a judge, to administer justice. Ea res a Volcatio qui Romæ jus dicit, rejecta in Galliam est. Cicer. Fam.

Epist. 13, 14. Appius.....quam asperrime poterat jus de creditis pecuniis dicere. Liv. ii, 27. Ipse jus dixit assidue, et in noctem nonnumquam: si parum corpore valeret, lecticâ pro tribunali collocatâ vel etiam domi cubans. Suet. in Aug. c. 33. I think also that Heyne confines *jura dabunt* within too narrow limits by subjoining *imperio Romano*; and that he should have used some more comprehensive term, such as *hominibus*, or *populis*, or *gentibus*, which would better harmonise with the wide extent of the term *sæcula*, and with the general spirit of the prophecy, that the peace was to be universal, to extend over the whole world.

(a) V. 293.—*Diræ ferro et compagibus arctis  
Claudentur belli portæ*——

Heyne has set his seal to the following, which is the universally received interpretation of this passage; [*belli*] *porta dira*, quia dei diri et abominandi, *clauditur ferro et compagibus arctis*, seu vinculis, h. e. foribus serratis. (Excurs. 9. ad En. 1.) It seems almost incredible that neither Heyne nor any of the other commentators should have perceived that this interpretation is not only inconsistent with the well known meaning of the word *compages*, but with the plain and obvious structure of the sentence, and with the fairly presumable intention of Virgil. 1st.—With the well known meaning of *compages*, which is not bolts or other fastenings, but the conjunction or colligation of the parts of which a compound object is compacted or put together, as of the stones or bricks of a wall (Lucan, iii, 491), of the planks of a ship (En. i, 122), or other wooden building, ex. gr. the wooden horse (En. ii, 51), or of the organs constituting an animal body (Cic. de Senect. c. 21), or of the several

Dire, of war's iron portals, shall be closed,  
 And impious Fury on grim arms, within, 360  
 Pinioned with hundred-knotted brass, shall sit  
 And growl, horrid with blood-beslavered mouth."  
 He says, and Maia's son demits from high,  
 The lands of Carthage, and young towers to open  
 Hospitious to the Teucrican; lest, of fate 365  
 Unweeting, Dido from her bounds off-warn :

*constituent parts of which an empire* (Tacit. Hist. iv, 74), or *the world itself* (Aul. Gell. vi, 1), consists. This is the only meaning which the word *compages* has either in the Latin language, or in the English, into which it has been adopted from the Latin. 2ndly.—The received interpretation is inconsistent with the plain and obvious structure, according to which *ferro et compagibus* is connected with *dirae*, not with *claudentur*, in the same way as *ore cruento* at the close of the sentence is connected with *horridus*, not with *fremet*. It is impossible for the reader or reciter to separate *ferro et compagibus arctis* from *dirae*, or *ore cruento* from *horridus*, without making, at *dirae* and *horridus*, pauses very disagreeable both to the ear and sense. So also, in the sentence *ora modis attollens pallida miris* (v. 354), *modis miris* is joined with *pallida*, not with *attollens*, as is proved by the corresponding sentence, Georg. i, 477, *Simulacra modis pallentia miris*. See note, v, 637. Pliny uses *dirae* in precisely the same construction (B. v, c. 4), *Sinus vadoso mari dirus*. 3rdly.—Even if it were admitted (which, however, I cannot admit), that *compages* might, in another situation, mean *the bolts or fastenings of a gate*, still we must, in justice to the *ars poetica* of Virgil, refer it in this situation to the *structure of the gate itself*, because it would have been highly incorrect and unpoetical to lay

so great a stress on the mere circumstance of the *fastenings of the gate being of iron*, since it appears not only from the celebrated line of Ennius, quoted by Horace, but from Virgil's own *Belli ferratos rupit Saturnia postes* (En. vii, 622), that *the gate itself was iron*; it is incredible that Virgil should have presented us with the minor picture of the *iron fastenings*, and wholly omitted the greater picture of the *iron gate*. The structure, therefore, is *dirae compagibus arctis ferri*, and these words are the description of the gate itself; *dirae* expressing the effect which its appearance produced on the mind; *ferro* informing us that its material was iron; *compagibus* that it consisted of several pieces adapted to each other; and *arctis*, that those pieces were closely joined or compacted together, for, as appears from En. i, 122, closeness does not form an essential part of the idea expressed by *compages*. It will further be observed, that the emphasis (which by the received interpretation is thrown upon the fastenings of the gate) is by this mode of rendering the passage, thrown upon *claudentur*, the really emphatic word, as containing the principal idea, the closing of the temple of Janus in the time of universal peace. Exactly parallel to *ferro et compagibus arctis*, we have (En. ii, 627) *ferro crebrisque bipennibus*, for *crebris bipennibus ferri*.



- (b) He, the great air with oary pinion cleaving,  
 Speedy on Libya's confine hath alit;  
 And now he does his bidding; and the Poeni,  
 At the God's will, do off the heart ferocious; 370  
 Nor least the queen toward Teucria's sons accepts  
 A peaceful spirit and benign inclining.

But good Eneas, thoughts innumerable  
 All night revolving, to go forth at light's  
 Benignant dawn, determines, and explore 375  
 The unknown country; on what coast the storm  
 Had cast him; by man tenanted, or beast,  
 (For idle he beholds the terrene lie,  
 And to his comrades with report return.  
 In dell of the wood, beneath a rock's o'erhang, 380  
 He hides the ships, with trees round closed, and thick  
 Umbrageous horror; then by sole Achates

- (c) Accompanied, and quivering in his hand

- (b) V. 300.—*Volat ille, &c.*

Down thither prone in flight  
 He speeds, and through the vast æthereal sky  
 Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady  
 wing. *Par. Lost*, v, 266.

(c) V. 313.—*Crispans*. This word, both here and in the 12th book, v. 165, where it is applied in the same context to Turnus, is commonly understood to mean *brandishing*; a meaning which, however, it is difficult to admit, both because it is foreign to the etymology, and because Eneas and Turnus are represented as peacefully engaged (the one setting out to explore the country, and the other to ratify a solemn truce), and therefore could not be either poetically or pictorially drawn, *brandishing their javelins*. Let us understand *crispans* to mean *quivering* or shaking with a short vibratory motion quickly returned upon itself, the two *hastilia*,

held, as it is probable, by the middle, together, in the one hand, and we have a meaning which is, first, perfectly consistent with the common usage of *crispus* and *crispans*, employed by Latin writers (a) to express the state of a thing curled, wreathed, or twisted on itself, as crised or curled hair; and (b) to express a short, quick, frequently repeated motion or quivering or vibration called *crispus*, because it is returned, and as it were *crisped* or curled upon itself. "Tutissimum est cum vibrat crispante aedificiorum crepitu." Pliny, l. ii, c. 84, speaking of an earthquake. "Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus." *Copa*. l. ii. And which, 2ndly, harmonises well, on the one hand, with peaceful occupation, and, on the other, with muscular strength and manly bearing.

Twain darts, broad-iron-headed, sallies forth.

(d) Him, in the midst of the wood, his mother met, 385

Maiden in face and dress ; like Spartan maiden,  
Armed, or Harpalyce of Thrace, the panting  
Steeds when she urges, and outstrips swift Eurys ;  
For from her shoulders she had hung the wonted  
Bow habile of the huntress, and her hair 390  
Loosed to the winds ; a gathered knot restrained

(e) Her robe from flowing, and her knee was bare :—

“ What ho ! young men,” she prior thus, “ direct me  
If sister mine ye chance have seen here straying,  
Succinct with spotted lynx’s hide and quiver ; 395  
Or the foam wild-boar with whoop-hallo chasing ?”  
So Venus : and thus answered Venus’ son :—

“ No sister thine have I or heard or seen,  
O how shall I salute thee, maid ? for not  
Mortal those features, nor of earth that voice ; 400  
O Goddess certain ; art Apollo’s sister,  
Or of the nymphs’ blood ? on us look propitious,  
And our toils lighten, whosoe’er thou art ;  
And neath what sky we are tossed about, at last,  
In what world-district teach us ; of the place 405  
And people, alike ignorant we wander,  
Hither by winds compelled, and vasty waves :  
Many the victim which, in thanks to thee,  
By our right hand, shall fall before the altar.”

(d) V. 314.—*Cui mater, &c.* Compare the admirable conciseness of this exquisite picture with the (dare I say ? tedious) diffuseness of the Spenserian copy.—*Faerie Queene*, ii, 3, 31, and seq.

(e) V. 320.—*Nuda genu, &c.*

Each maiden’s short barbaric vest  
Left all unclosed the knee and breast  
And limbs of shapely jet ;

A quiver on their shoulders lay.

*Bridal of Triermain.*

(f) "Of such high honor I not deem me worthy," 410

Venus replied; "to bear the quiver wont  
The Tyrian maidens, and the mid-leg lace  
High with the purple buskin; thou beholdest  
Realm Punic, Tyrians, and Agenor's city;

(g) But Libyan soil, a race of stubborn war; 415

Dido, the ruler; from Tyre city hither  
In refuge from her brother-german fled;  
Long the wrong-doing, the ambages long;  
But I will follow the facts' prominences.

(h) With primal omens, by her father plight 420

(f) V. 335.—*Haec equidem tali me dignor honore*. Not referring specially to *Multa tibi ante aras, &c.*, but generally to the whole of Eneas's speech, ascribing divinity to her.

(g) V. 339.—*Genus intractabile bello*. I am decided by the so similar phrase, *genus insuperabile bello* (En. iv, 40), applied to the *Gaetulæ urbes*, to take part with Heyne against Wagner, and refer *genus intractabile bello*, not to *Carthage*, but to the immediately preceding, *fines Libyci*.

(h) V. 343.—*Hæc conjux Sichæus erat*. It has not, I believe, occurred to any of the numerous commentators or translators of the Eneis, that it is the intention of Virgil to represent Sichæus otherwise than as the husband of Dido. It seems to me, however, that he is plainly described not as the *husband*, but only as the *sponsus* or *betrothed*. I shall, perhaps, be excused for giving at some length my arguments in support of an opinion, which, if correct, gives a new charm not only to this romantic episode, but to the whole story of Dido, and consequently to the Eneis itself.

1.—The word employed to express the relation in which Dido and Sichæus

stood to each other is not *maritus* nor *uxor*, but *conjux*, a term frequently applied, both by Virgil himself (Bucol. viii, 18 and 66; En. iii, 331; vii, 189; ix, 138), and by other writers (ex gr., Ovid, *Metam.* v, 10; Tibull. iii, 2, 4), to unmarried persons, whether betrothed, or whether, as in the greater number of the instances just quoted, no more than mere lovers or sweethearts.

[The term *conjux*, it is most probable, was first used in this sense by anticipation (nothing being more natural than to apply beforehand to the beloved object, the endearing appellation to which he or she was soon to become entitled by marriage); and its use afterwards extended (a) to cases in which, as in the instance before us, the anticipation had ceased, and (b) to cases in which, as in Tibull. 2, 3, 4, (where see comments of Heyne and Broukhusius,) there never had been any anticipation at all. So, also, in English, by a similar anticipation, even the terms *husband* and *wife* (so much more peculiarly the property of the married state than the Latin *conjux*) are, not merely in the familiar language of every day life (Shakespeare, "Taming of the Shrew," act iii, sc. 2), but even by the gravest writers, applied to the parties before marriage; of which see a remarkable instance in Wickliffe's translation of

A virgin to Sichæus ; he most rich

In land, of the Phœnicians, and beloved

the New Testament, where (Matt. xxv, 1) *νυμφίος* and *νυμφή* (*sponsus* and *sponsa*) are translated the *housbonde* and the *wife* ; sciz., *the future, or about to be, husband ; and the future, or about to be wife*. As these terms, strictly applicable only to the married state, are, by anticipation, applied also to the unmarried, so the Latin *sponsus* and *sponsa*, which properly belong only to the unmarried, are, by retrospection, applied also to the married state. This is so much the case, that *spouse* has entirely lost its primitive meaning, and is now, I believe, never employed except to denote a married person. So, also, the corresponding Saxon derivative, *bride*, which, in strictness, means only the *betrothed* or *espoused*, is applied to the *married* female ; commonly, indeed, for no more than a short period after marriage ; but poetically, in one instance at least, for the whole period of marriage, or nearly as synonymous with wife :

Celestial Cupid

Holds his dear Psyche sweet intranced,  
After her wandering labours long,  
Till free consent the Gods among  
Make her his eternal bride.

Milton, Com. v. 1005.

I say *nearly* synonymous with *wife*, because the poetical beauty of the passage consists in the implication, by means of the term *bride*, that Psyche was never to grow old, or lose her newly-married charms. Nor is this extended use of the term *bride* an innovation, for we find in Wachter :—“ *Braut* (*sponsa*) dicitur non solum de iis quæ viro nondum traditæ sunt, sed etiam de uxeribus, quæ sciz. omnes, uxores et sunt, et appellari amant sponsæ, nuptæ, ornatae.”]

2.—*Cui pater intactam dederat, primisque jugârat Ominibus* (v. 345, 346). Virgil does not say *dederat*, *primisque jugârat nuptiis*, or *matrimonii*, or *hymenæis*, or simply *dederat atque jugârat* (any one of which expressions would have rendered a new interpretation unnecessary), but *dederat atque jugârat*—*primis ominibus* : an adjunct which limits the force of *dederat* and *jugârat* to the primary or initiatory

steps of marriage, *q.d.*, to the *sponsalia*, or betrothing.

[The application of *omen* to any act, word, or thing, belonging to, or accompanying, the initiatory of an undertaking, and from which an attempt is made to prognosticate the result, is familiar to every Latin scholar ; “ *Primus turmas invasit agrestes Eneas, omen pugnae, stravitque Latinos.*” En. x, 310. *Omen* thus applied to the initiatory, prognosticating step, is, by an easy transition, applied to the whole act (as *limina* to the whole house, *orae* and *fines* to the whole country, *caput* and *manus* to the whole body, &c.), in cases, sciz., in which, on account of their importance and solemnity, it was usual to look with more than common attention to the prognostics. The precise ominating words generally used in betrothings have been handed down to us by Plautus, *Trinum*, 2, 4, 101. “ *Quin fabulari, Dii bene voltant, spondeo ?*” To which, after some hesitation and persuasion, the betrother replies, “ *Quid istic ? Quando ita vis, Dii bene voltant, spondeo.*” It is perhaps to these very words, accompanied, probably, on account of the high rank of the parties, with some further ceremony, that Virgil’s *primis ominibus* refers.]

*Primis ominibus* cannot mean, as hitherto supposed, *primis nuptiis*, because, if it does, (a) it is a mere tautology of *intactam dederat* ; and (b) implies either that Dido was married again in the interval between the death of Sichæus and the time at which Venus was speaking, or, at least, that second marriages were of usual occurrence, neither of which implications is sustained by the facts.

3.—*Sed* (v. 346) seems plainly to intimate that the poet is about to relate a circumstance, which interfered to prevent the contract, described in the preceding line, from being carried into effect, and consummated by marriage.

4.—*Factum diu celavit* (v. 351). It is difficult to imagine how the murder

With all her wretched heart's exceeding love :  
But Tyrus' empire was her german-brother's,

of the husband could be concealed *diu* from the *wife*, living in the same house, (for it appears, from the words *sparsos fraternâ caede Penates*, En. iv, 21, that Sichæus was not, as has been suggested, in order to get over this difficulty, at a distance from home when he was murdered), but nothing more easy than to conceive its concealment from the *betrothed*, living, as it is natural to suppose, under a different roof, and, because unmarried, subject to the immediate control of her brother, the despotic sovereign.

5.—*Vanâ spe lusit amantem* (v. 352). The word *amans*, absolutely, and without either substantive or object, has indeed been once applied by Virgil (En. vi, 526) to a married person; but he has applied it to Dido in the sense of a lover or sweetheart so frequently, and in sentences so very similar to that before us (ex. gr., *quis fallere possit amantem*, iv, 296), that we can scarcely doubt that it is to be understood here in the same sense.

6.—*Vanâ spe lusit* (v. 352). Excluded with hope of what? The next word (*amantem*) answers the question, with the lover's hope—marriage. Nothing can be plainer than this connexion of *spe* with *amantem*. Besides *spe* properly refers to something future, not to what is already in existence.

7.—*Amorum* (v. 350). If Virgil had been speaking of married love, he would more probably have used the word *amor* in the singular.

8.—*Postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit* (En. iv, 17). The words *deceptam morte fefellit*, too strong to express the mere interruption and cessation of conjugal happiness at the death of the husband, express most accurately the total interception, and disappointment of all expectation, of conjugal happiness by the death of the betrothed before marriage.

9.—*Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ* (En. iv, 23). The passion to which Dido refers must be that which she, as *sponsa*, felt for Sichæus, her *sponsus*, because the flame now kindling in her breast could be correctly compared only with that passion, and not with the love of a wife for a husband. This comparison loses no part of its correctness, indeed, but much of its elegance and grace, being made by a widow, who passes over in silence her married life, in order to refer to an antecedent period for an illustration of her present love.

10.—*Solane perpetuâ moerens carpere juventâ, Nec dulces natos, Veneris nec præmia noris?* (En. iv, 32, 33.) The retrospective force of these words seems scarcely less evident than their prospective.

11.—*Prima et Tellus et promuba Juno Dant signum: fulsere ignes et conscius aether Connubiis, summoque ululârunt vertice Nymphae* (En. iv, 166, 167, 168). These strong expressions, this convulsion of heaven and earth, these lamentations of virgins, can only be for the fall of a virgin.

12.—*QUALIS in Eurotæ ripis..... Exercet DIANA choros..... TALIS erat Dido* (En. i, 498-503). Is it credible that a poet, more correct in his images and more accurate in his language than, perhaps, any that ever wrote, would have thus compared Dido to Diana, especially at our first introduction to her, if she had been deficient in that point of resemblance which must certainly be the first suggested by the comparison? Is it credible that Virgil, no mean portion of whose glory is derived from his always improving upon the similitudes presented to him by Homer, should have thus (may I venture the word?) stultified himself, by the transfer to a widow, of Homer's exquisite and per-

Pygmalion, monster of iniquity  
Unparalleled ; he, with Sichaeus feuding,

425

fect comparison of the *Virgin Nausica* to the *Virgin Diana*? (See *Odyss.* B. vi.)

13.—The desperate passion and self-immolation of Dido are more appropriate in an artless Juliet than in an experienced widow.

14.—The opposition which the words *thalamus* and *taeda* (En. iv, 18) present to this view is only apparent, for they are no more than a figurative expression for marriage, of which Dido says she is weary, in the same sense as a person, now pressed to make a voyage to America, might say, "I have got enough of America already," although he had never been there, but on a former voyage thither had been shipwrecked on a desert island or taken prisoner by pirates.

15.—The horror felt by Dido when she first becomes aware of her love for Eneas, is not more difficult of explanation, or more inconsistent with our established notions, on the supposition that Sichaeus died before marriage, than on the supposition that Dido was Sichaeus's widow. In whichever way we understand the history, Dido's horror points to laws of decorum, widely different from any at present existing in these countries. There is, indeed, abundant evidence in ancient writers, and particularly in the Greek and Roman dramatists, not only that the practice of betrothing was universal, but that its obligation was regarded as no less sacred than that of matrimony itself. In the East, betrothings preserve much of their ancient character, and in some parts of the north of Europe, and even in a city so near to us as Hamburg, they are still so usual, and regarded as so important, that advertisements of them (*Verlobungs-Anzeigen*) are published daily in the newspapers, along with the advertisements of marriages, births, and deaths.

Cards, also, having the names of newly-betrothed parties printed upon them, are sent round to friends and relatives ; and the parties acquire, and preserve until actual marriage, the respective appellations of *braut* (bride) and *bräutigam* (bridegroom).

16.—The word "*virum*," in Dido's spirited exultation just before she stabs herself, "*Ulla virum*," &c. (En. iv, 656), thus acquires new poetic beauty. She does not say, "I have revenged my betrothed," or "my betrothed husband," but, leaping to the conclusion at once, and using the shortest and most emphatic term, expressive of the idea, in the Latin language, "I have revenged—*virum*—my husband ;" any other word would have fallen short of the vehemence and rapidity of her thought. If the correctness of this interpretation be questioned, I beg to refer to the application even by the cold Anna, of the term "*maritus*" to Dido's Tyrian and Libyan suitors (En. iv, 35), and to the authorities quoted by Forbiger in his note on that passage. "*Vir*," in the 461st v. of En. iv, (the only other occasion on which the term is applied to Sichaeus) is plainly used in its ordinary heroic sense.

17.—*Fraternal* (En. iv, 21) is to be explained in the same way as *conjux* and *maritus* above ; *gener*, En. xii, 31 ; *Soceros*, xi, 105 ; *Hic socer est*, Ter. Andr. 4, 5, 53 ; and the innumerable prolepses to be met every where, in every writing, and even in every conversation.

18.—If it be alleged that Justin, in his history, states expressly that Dido was married, I reply, that whether Virgil has drawn his information from a different source, or whether, as is most probable, he has altered the received history for poetical purposes, certain it is that his account is, in

And blind with gold-lust, at the unwary altar  
 Him privily with impious steel o'ermasters,  
 Reckless of sister's loves ; and long the deed  
 Hides, and with many a wicked gloss deludes 43  
 And empty hope, the loving bride's heart-sickness.  
 But in a dream the very imago comes,  
 Of the unburied sweetheart, and uplifting  
 Wondrous pale visage, bares the steel-gored breast  
 And cruel altar, and discovers all 435  
 The villain house-murk : swift from fatherland  
 To flee then urged, and, furtherance of her way,  
 Of sumless gold an ancient hoard revealed,  
 And silver, in the treasuring earth that lay  
 Buried ; flight and companions Dido, alarmed, 440  
 Prepares : who bitterly the tyrant hate  
 Or sharply fear, assemble ; ships at hand  
 Found ready, seize, and load with gold ;—avare  
 (i) Pygmalion's strength and substance sail the deep :

almost every respect, so entirely different from Justin's, that no conclusion whatever, as to his meaning, can be deduced from a comparison with that historian.

I have not hesitated to mould my translation of this passage according to the views just presented ; because, independently of the intrinsic weight of the arguments in their favor, they have the additional advantage of being entirely new, and of removing the reproach of "*Widow Dido*" (Shaks. Temp. act ii, sc. 1), the only blemish in the most charming romance which has been bequeathed us by antiquity.

The story of Orpheus and Eurydice, in the fourth Georgic, derives great additional beauty from a similar interpretation of the word *conjur*.

(i) V. 364—*Pygmalionis opes*. These words have been hitherto understood to mean the treasures, of which Pygmalion hoped to obtain possession by the murder of Sichæus, "*quas ille animo et spe jam praeceperat*," Heyne ; whose interpretation has been adopted by succeeding commentators. This interpretation is undoubtedly incorrect, for 1st—The peculiar and proper meaning of *opes* is not treasures, but opulence, and the strength and power consequent upon opulence. So *dives opum*, En. i, 14 ; *Trojanas ut opes*, En. ii, 4 ; *Has evertit opes*, En. ii, 603 ; *Opibus juvabo*, En. i, 571. 2ndly—The possessive *Pygmalionis* cannot without great violence be wrested so as to mean hope of possession. 3rdly—Supposing the structure to admit of such interpretation, it

The achievement is a woman's. There arrived, 445  
 Where the huge ramparts yonder thou discern'st,  
 And rising citadel, of infant Carthage,  
 They buy, called Byrsa from the circumstance,  
 Such site as with a bull's hide they may compass.  
 But ye—who are ye? From what quarter come, 450  
 Or whither bound?" Sighing and from his breast's  
 Depth his voice drawing, he to her inquiry :—  
 " O Goddess, ere the annals of our toils  
 I to thy listening leisure could repeat  
 From their beginning, Vesper would the day 455  
 Compose, and draw the curtains of Olympus.  
 From ancient Troy, if ever on thine ear

were unworthy of Virgil, having already employed one sentence in informing us that the ships were seized, and another in informing us that they were loaded with gold, to occupy a third with the statement that the gold sailed. We have only to give to *opes* its true signification of opulential substance, and to *Pygmalionis* its proper possessive force, and we have a meaning at once simple and worthy of the author, viz :—*that the strength and substance of Pygmalion was carried away over the sea.* That this is the true meaning, is further proved by the very next sentence, *dux foemina facti*, as well as by *ulta virum, poenas inimico a fratre recepi*, En. iv, 656. For what was the deed achieved by a woman? or what was the revenge which Dido had for her murdered betrothed? or what was the punishment inflicted upon her hostile brother? Not surely the running away with a treasure which belonged to her own betrothed, and which Pygmalion had never even so much as possessed; but the emasculating Pygmalion's kingdom, by carrying away, along with the

treasure, men, ships, and munitions of war, in sufficient quantity to found a great city and a rival empire. Thus it is not indifferently or *otiose*, that Venus informs Eneas (and Virgil, his reader) that the *opes Pygmalionis* sailed the deep, but expressly for the purpose of preparing him for the display of wealth and power (*opes*) with which he is greeted at Carthage; and thus again, the *nodus*, which made it necessary for Venus to appear in person, becomes *dignior vindice ded.* It may be observed further, 1st—that the term *veteres* (v. 358) is almost by itself sufficient to show that the *thesauros* did not belong either to Sichaeus or Pygmalion, but were one of those old hoards, of the existence of which no person living was aware, and which it has been from time immemorial the province of ghosts to reveal; and 2ndly—that *opes* must be interpreted as I have proposed, in order to afford a plausible pretext for the apprehension expressed (if not felt) by Dido (En. iv, 325), that Pygmalion would follow her, and make war upon Carthage.



Troy's name have sounded, us, through diverse sea-plains  
 Travelled, a tempest's chance hath on the shore  
 Of Libya driven : pious Eneas I, 460  
 Famed above ether ; with Penates snatched  
 From the foe-midst aboard, in quest I voyage,  
 Of Italy ancestral, and a kin  
 Sprung from Jove highest ; Phrygia's main, with ships  
 Twice ten I ascended, by a Goddess mother 465  
 Led, and pursuing an appointed fate ;  
 Convulsed by Eurus and the waves, survive  
 Scarce seven ; myself, from Europe driven and Asia,  
 Unknown and needy, roam the Libyan wastes."  
 Nor longer Venus his complaint enduring, 470  
 Him, in the midst of his pain, thus interrupts :—  
 " Whoe'er thou art, not unbeloved I deem,  
 Of heaven, thou drawest air vital, who arrivest  
 The Tyrian city : only hold thee on,  
 And seek direct the precinct of the queen ; 475  
 For thy returning company, and fleet  
 Brought back with Aquilo's reverse, and lodged  
 In safety, I announce thee ; if my fond  
 Parents me taught not augury in vain.  
 Yon joyous troop behold, of twice six swans, 480  
 Which, in clear sky, the bird of Jove has routed,  
 Swooping from tract ethereal ; how in long  
 (k) Succession they alight ; or hovering, seem

(k) V. 395.—*Capere terras* (Fr. *prendre terre*) to take the land ; to land ; sciz. from a ship ; here applied to landing from the air or alighting on the ground. Cesar de Bell. Gall. iv, 36, makes a very similar use of the

verb *capere*, " eosdem portus capere non potuerunt."

*Videntur*, although, in the construction and in a loose sense, belonging both to *capere* and *despectare*, belongs (according to the style of which Virgil

Their lighting place to survey ; as with wings  
 Stridorous, they sport returned, and round the pole 485  
 Wheel their reunion, and their song deliver ;  
 Thy ships and people so, or port have gained  
 Or with full sail are entering the road :  
 Hold thee but on, and take the path thy guide."

As, having said, she turned away, her nape 490  
 Beamed roses, and an odour of divinity  
 From her shede exhaled and ambrosial hair ;

Down to her footsole flowed her robe, and true  
 Goddess was in her gait. He, recognising  
 His mother, with these words her flight pursued :— 495

(l) "Thy son, so oft with false similitudes,

(m) Cruel thou too, why mockest ? why allowest not  
 Hand to hand join, and true words hear and answer ?"  
 So he upbraids, and bounes him for the city.

But Venus, with murk air, them, as they went, 500  
 Fenced, and the Goddess round about them threw  
 Ample cloak nebulous ; that no one, them  
 Might see, or touch, or hinder, or the cause  
 Ask, why they come. Herself departs, sublime,  
 For Paphos, and her seats revisits, joyful, 505

(n) Where temple and hundred altars glow for her  
 Incense Sabean, and respire fresh garlands.

is so fond, and for a most remarkable example of which see En. x, 13) in the strict sense, only to the latter ; the meaning being, *either alight on the ground, or having alighted and risen again on the wing, hover over and seem as if they look down on the place from whence they have risen.* See note to En. i, 416.

The acts ascribed to the swans in the two following lines, as well as their

apparent looking down on the ground, are subsequent to their alighting from their flight before the eagle.

(l) V. 407.—*Falsis ludis imaginibus.*  
 Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him  
 hence, *Par. Reg.*, ii. 56.

(m) V. 407.—*Tu quoque.* Not *tu quoque ludis*, but *tu quoque crudelis*, sciz. as well as those other deities who take delight in persecuting me.

(n) V. 416. — *Ubi templum illi.*

Meantime, where guides the path, they have seized their  
way ;

And now the hill ascend, which rising still  
And rising o'er the city, on its towers 510  
Opposite looks down. Eneas the vast construct,  
Magalia once, admires ; admires the gates,  
The din, the causeys ; ardent Tyrians slack not ;

(o) These, the walled circuit of the citadel  
Building, and with their hands the stones uprolling : 515  
While those, the habitations' site select  
And furrow round ; laws and executive  
They choose, and holy senate ; here some dig  
Harbours ; the theatre's foundations there  
Others lay deep ; and from the rocks out-hew, 520  
Lofty adornment of the future scenic,

These words as usually rendered (*ubi templum est illi*) are mere prose. They become poetic, however, if *templum* be referred as an additional nominative to *calent*, so as to agree with that verb in the loose sense in which Virgil delights to connect a second subject or a second object with his verb (see note v. 395), or a second verb with his subject or object. See En. i, 230, and note to En. ii, 552.

(o) V. 423.—*Pars ducere muros*. If *muros* be, as hitherto supposed, the walls of the city, Virgil has been guilty of a gross incorrectness in his division of the Tyrians into *pars* and *pars* ; for:—1st. One and the same *pars* could not be employed at works so remote from each other as the building of the walls of the city, sciz. at the circumference, and the building of the citadel, sciz. at the centre. And, 2ndly. The first *pars* would be necessarily mixed up and confused with

the second, the works at which both were engaged (sciz. *ducere muros urbis, et concludere sulco,*) being close to and connected with each other. But let us understand *muros* to be the walls of the citadel, *arcis* being suggested after *muros* by the immediately following *arcem*, and we render the division perfectly correct and complete ; the one *pars* being employed altogether at the centre about the citadel ; and the other altogether towards the circumference, in choosing, and enclosing with a trench, the site for the houses : and this division is the more complete, because the two works are distinct, not only in their situation but in their nature ; the one being the erection of a fortress, the other the laying out of a site for peaceful dwellings, and enclosing it, or marking its bounds with a furrow. For proof that citadels, no less than cities, had *muri*, see Livy, xxiv, 3 ; xxv, 11 ; xxv, 25.

Columns immane. Busy they are as bees,  
 In flowery rural, neath young summer's sun,  
 (p) When they lead forth the nation's adult births ;  
 Or stow the liquent honey, that the cells 525  
 Bulge with sweet nectar ; or unload the arrivers ;  
 Or in a body marshalled, from the stalls  
 Compel the lazy drone-crew ; glows the work,  
 And savory smells of thyme the fragrant honey :—  
 " O fortunate, whose walls already rise," 530  
 Eneas says, the city-tops up-eyeing ;  
 And entering cloud-wrapt, mixes in the midst,  
 (Miraculous to tell), unseen of any.  
 Stood, mid the city, a grove's most joyful shade,  
 Where erst the wave-and-whirlwind-buffeted 535  
 Poeni exhumed the mettled courser's head,  
 Of royal Juno the appointed token,  
 That for long ages, war-preeminent  
 And wealthy-wallowing the race should live.  
 A temple huge to Juno here Sidonian 540  
 Dido was founding, opulent in gifts  
 And the God-presence ; high on steps arose  
 (q) Whose brazen-columned, brazen-architraved

(p) V. 431.—*Adultos*—having undergone their transformations, and assumed the perfect or adult insect-form, that of *imago*.

*Gentis*—because "solae communes gnatos habent." Georg. iv, 153.

(q) V. 448.—*Nixaeque aere trabes*. Virgil's principal commentators, while they agree in adopting the vulgar reading of this passage, *nixaeque aere trabes*, differ toto caelo in its interpretation. Heyne (who is followed by Wagner) having justly rejected the

usually received meaning ("aere nexae vulgo sic accipi videas, ut postium, h.e. trabium, ex ligno v. c. abiegnarum, vincula et clavi seu unci sint ex aere") as utterly unworthy of the dignity of the description, gives his own interpretation in these words: "*nexaeque liminibus (adjunctae et impositae limini) trabes (postes) surgebant (erant ex) aere.*" Wunderlich, on the other hand, objecting with equal justice to Heyne's gloss, that *aere* cannot be separated from *nexae*, and that there is a manifest

Entrance, and valved door on the hinges grating.

In this grove first a novelty presents,

545

Assauging apprehension ; here first dares

Eneas hope for safety, and more trust

(r) Repose in his down-beaten circumstance ;

For whilst, the queen awaiting, he contemplates

incorrectness in the double construction, *aerea surgebant* and *surgebant aere*, understands *nezae aere* to be equivalent to *aereus*. But if equivalent to *aereus*, *nezae aere* had better been omitted, as embarrassing the construction without conveying any meaning not already conveyed by *aerea*, the action of which is as full and perfect on *trabes* as on *limina*. Besides these separate, there is one general, objection to all the explanations which have been, or, as far as I can see, can be offered of this reading ; viz., that they all so limit Virgil's description as to make it the description, not of a temple, or the façade or portal of a temple, but of a mere door ; the sum total of the sense contained in the two lines being, *that there were steps up to the door, the sill, posts, and valves of which were of brass*. I therefore unite with Catrou in rejecting the common reading, as incapable of affording any good sense, and in adopting the more unusual one, *nizaeque*, the authorities for which are enumerated in Heyne's *Variae Lectiones*. This reading being adopted, the passage becomes disembarrassed of all difficulty, the construction clear, and the meaning harmonious to the context, and worthy of Virgil. *Limina* is the entrance or portal, (in which wide sense the plural *limina* will be found to be much more frequently used by Virgil than in its narrow and limited sense of *sill* or *threshold*. "*Limina perrumpit*." En. ii, 480. "*Penetrant limina*." Georg. ii, 504. "*Irrumpit limina*." En. iv, 645, &c.) *Trabes* are the beams or architraves supporting

the roof. "*Trabes supra columnas et paratatas et antas ponuntur*." Vitruv. B. iv, c. 2. And again, B. iv, c. 7. "*Eaeque trabes compactiles ponantur ut tantam habeant crassitudinem quantae summae columnae erit hypotrachelium*. That these *trabes* were sometimes of brass, or overlaid with brass, appears from Claudian, 33, 342 ; "*Trabibus solidatur ahenis Culmen*." *Aerea surgebant* is the common predicate of *limina* and *trabes* : *nizae aere* the special predicate of *trabes*, which are represented as leaning on brass (sciz. *brazen columns*), the precise position of the *trabes* (the modern *architrave*), as described by Vitruvius. The picture presented is that of the whole façade of the temple, consisting of the brazen *limina* (or parts immediately about the door, and in particular probably the front wall of the temple as seen behind the columns) the brazen *architrave*, supported on *brazen columns*, and the *brazen folding or valved doors*, all elevated on a flight of steps. The palace of Alcinous (Odys. vii), the Roman Pantheon, and the doors of the court of Solomon's temple, afford well-known exemplifications of the ancient practice of plating various parts of buildings with brass, for the sake of ornament. In further confirmation of the reading *nizae*, I may observe that the omission of columns in the description of so great and magnificent a temple, would have been very singular and remarkable.

(r) V. 452.—*Afflictis*. See note, En. ii, 92.

The several objects neath the temple huge ; 550  
 Whilst he admires the fortune of the city,  
 The artists' hands harmonious, and the works'  
 Labor, he sees, a-row, the Ilian battles,  
 And wars already through the world fame-published ;  
 Atrides, Priam, and austerne to both, 555  
 Achilles. He stood still, and, " what place now,"  
 Said weeping, " O Achates ; what earth-region,  
 Not of our toils full ! Behold Priamus !  
 Even here its meed hath virtue ; misery, tears ;  
 And human sorrow touches human hearts ; 560  
 Thy fears dismiss ; this fame brings thee some safety."  
 He says, and feeds thought on the painted inane ;  
 Much groaning, and his face with large flood wetting ;  
 For he beholds, round Pergamus war-waging,  
 Here fly the Graii, Troja's youth pursue ; 565  
 There flying Phrygia, urging in his car  
 Crested Achilles ; nor far hence of Rhesus,  
 Acknowledges with tears the snowy tent-sheets,  
 (s) Which by first sleep betrayed, yon gore-thick Diomede  
 Has devastated, and the fiery horses 570  
 Off to the camp turns, ere they taste Troy's fodder,  
 Or drink of Xanthus. In another part,  
 Arms lost, and flying, behold Troilus,  
 (Unhappy youth, match for Achilles unmeet !)  
 Dragged by his horses, and to the empty chariot 575  
 Resupine clinging, yet the reins still holding ;  
 His nape and hair the ground trail, spear inverted  
 Writes in the dust. Meanwhile with sparkled locks,

(s) V. 471.—*Multâ vastabat caede cruentus*. See notes, En., i, 293 and 637.

To unjust Pallas' fane, the Iliades  
 Wend, and the peplum bear ; sad-suppliant, 580  
 Breast-smiting ; but the Goddess away turning,  
 On the ground fixes eyes immovable.  
 Achilles thrice round Ilian walls hath rapt  
 Hector, and sells for gold the lifeless body.  
 Huge was the groan then from his breast's depth drawn,  
 When he beheld the spoils there, and the chariot  
 And very body of his friend, and forth

- (f) Stretched Priam's helpless hands ; himself too there,  
 Mellied with chiefs Achaian, he agnises,  
 The fronts Eoan, and black Memnon's arms. 590  
 Penthesilea furent, the bands leading  
 Of lunc-shield Amazons, mid thousands burns,  
 Beneath exerted mamma golden zone  
 (u) Girds warrior, and, a maid, dares cope with men.

While stupefact, in one adhesive gaze, 595

- (x) Dardan Eneas views these wonderments,  
 (y) The queen comes to the temple, loveliest Dido,

(f) V. 487.—*Inermes*. See note, En. ii, 67.

(u) V. 492.—*Subnectens*.....*bellatrix* ;—*audet*.....*Virgo*. See note, En. ii, 552.

(x) V. 494.—*Dardanio Eneae*. Observe the delicate propriety with which the term *Dardan* is applied to Eneas, at the moment when, by the sudden presentation to him, in a strange land, of his own and his country's history, his mind is filled with, and overwhelmed by, *Dardan* recollections.

(y) V. 496.—*Regina ad templum*, &c. Our author, according to his wont, (see notes, En. ii, 18 and 51,) especially on occasions when he wishes to

be more than usually impressive, presents us, first, with the single principal idea, and afterwards adds those which are necessary for explanation or embellishment. *The queen comes to the temple ; she is of exquisite beauty, and her name is Dido*. *Regina* contains the principal idea, because it is the *queen*, as *queen*, whom Eneas is expecting and recognises ; it is, therefore, placed first : *pulcherrima* follows next, because the queen's beauty was almost of necessity the immediately succeeding idea in Eneas's mind ; and the *name, Dido*, is placed last, as of least importance, and serving only to identify, and connect with the narrative of Venus.

- Honor-accompanied of numerous youth ;
- (2)(a) So on Eurotas' banks, or slopes of Cynthe,  
 Diana plies the dance, whom thousand Oreads 600  
 Follow, and round on this and that side cluster ;  
 Her shoulder bears the quiver, and she moves  
 Among the Goddesses, out-topping all ;
- (b) While through Latona's breast the silent joy thrills.  
 Such Dido was ; so bore herself in the midst 605  
 Joyous, the work and future realm on-urging ;  
 The Goddess' doors within then, underneath
- (c) The templed mid-dome, fenced with arms, and high  
 Leaned on a throne, her seat takes ; to the brave men  
 Statutes and rights was giving, labor-shares 610  
 Justly apportioning or lot-deciding ;  
 When suddenly, with concourse vast, approach,  
 Eneas Antheus sees, Sergest, and brave  
 Cloanth, and other Teucri ; on sea-plain  
 Whom whirlwind black had sunder driven, and quite  
 To other shores offborne. Astound he stood,  
 Self and Achates simultaneous struck  
 With joy alike, and fear ; eager they burned  
 To clasp hands, but the circumstance unwist

(2) V. 498.—*Qualis in Eurotae ripis*,  
 &c. See note, En. i, 343.

(a) V. 498.—*Juga*. See note, En.  
 ii, 631.

(b) V. 502.—*Latonae tacitum perten-*  
*tant gaudia pectus*.

These growing thoughts my mother soon per-  
 ceiving

.....inly rejoiced.

*Par. Reg. l. 227.*

(c) V. 506.—*Solioque alte subnixa*.  
*Subniti* ; to take or derive support out  
 of something placed underneath ; to lean  
 upon (without, however, including the

idea of reclination, or deviation from  
 the perpendicular) ; to rest upon (with-  
 out including the idea of repose).  
 From this, the primitive meaning of  
*subniti* (not sufficiently understood by  
 any of the commentators or transla-  
 tors), directly flows its derived mean-  
 ing of *relying upon*.

*Subnixa* operates, not (as gratuitously  
 and most unpoetically supposed by  
 Heyne) on *scabello* understood, but on  
*solio* ; and the *ordo* is, *saepta armis*  
*subnixaque alte solio, resedit foribus*  
*divae*, &c.



Their spirit deranges : they dissimulate 620  
 And what their comrades' fortune, from their cloudy  
 Envelope speculate ; on what shore left  
 The fleet ; why come ; for delegates came there  
 From every ship, grace praying, and the temple  
 Sought clamorous. Now entrance had, and leave 625  
 Granted to speak in presence, thus began,  
 With calm breast, mightiest Ilioneus :—" O queen,  
 To whom Jove has given to found a city new,  
 And curb proud nations with law's wholesomeness ;  
 We wretched Trojans, through all seas wind-carried, 630  
 (d) Beseech thee, from our ships the infandous flame  
 Forbid ; a pious kindred spare, and look  
 More kindly near upon our circumstance.  
 Libyan Penates to lay waste with steel  
 We come not, or rapt booty to drive shore-ward ; 635  
 Not ours that strength of spirit ; not to us,  
 Conquered, that arrogance. A place there is  
 By Graii named Hesperia ; an old land,  
 Of powerful arms, and uddery glebe ; its early  
 Tillers the Enotrii ; and now, report is, 640  
 Called by its younger children Italy,  
 From the chief's name the nation. As our course  
 Thither we steered, stormy Orion rising  
 With sudden sea-swell, on blind shallows drove,  
 And utterly, with Austri lewd, dispelled us 645  
 Through conquering waves, and rocks impassable :  
 Hither we few have floated to your shores.  
 What kin of men this ? what so barbarous country

(d) V. 525.—*Infandos*. See note second, En. ii, 3.

Permits this use ? we are prohibited  
 Strand-hospitality ; they bring their war, 650  
 And bid our foot not touch the landing edge.  
 If man ye spurn and mortal arms, yet doubt not  
 The Gods are memoried still of right and wrong.  
 A king was ours, Eneas ; none more just  
 Lived, or more pious ; or in war-arms greater ; 655  
 Whom if the fates preserve still, if the air  
 Ethereal nourishes, nor yet the hero

- (e) Low in the cruel shades lies, not to us  
 Fear ; not to thee, perhaps, that thou hast striven  
 Foremost in kindly offices, repentance. 660  
 In Sicily, too, cities are ours, and fields,  
 And Trojan-sprung Acestes' brilliant name.  
 Our weather-beaten ships permit us strand ;  
 Some timbers fit ; some oars strip in the woods ;  
 That, if vouchsafed with mates and king recovered 665  
 Our onward course to Italy to steer,  
 Italy joyful we may seek and Latium ;  
 But if our safeguard gone, and Libyan sea,

(e) V. 548.—*Non metus, &c.* "*Non metuendum est ne te poeniteat beneficiis nos provocasse.*" Heyne. But, 1st, *non metuendum, &c.*, is weak and impotent as the sole conclusion, from a premiss, which Virgil has taken care to render as impressive as possible, by repeating it three times in different words. 2ndly—This conclusion might have been expressed more shortly, simply, and clearly, by a single negative joined to *poeniteat* (or *poenitebit*), than by the double negative, *non metus ne*. 3rdly—*Non metus*, so understood, conveys the very uncomplimentary imputation, that Dido did fear that she might receive no re-

compense for kindness shown to the Trojans. 4thly—This interpretation makes it necessary to substitute a new reading, *ne*, for the received one, *nec*. For all these reasons, I understand Ilioneus as drawing two distinct conclusions from his premises ; the first, *non metus*, referring solely to the Trojans ; the second, *officio nec te, &c.*, referring to Dido ; an interpretation, which is strongly confirmed by the words *sin absunta salus, &c.*, v. 555, (referring plainly, as I think, to the preceding *non metus*) ; but if, *Eneas having perished, our safety is gone, and we have therefore every thing to fear, &c.*

O Teucria's best sire, holds thee, and extinct  
 Iulus' hope ; Sicania's straits at least, 670  
 And seats prepared, whence hither we were carried,  
 And king Acestes, let us seek again."  
 So Ilioneus, and every Dardan mouth  
 Murmured assent. Then briefly Dido forth  
 Speaks with abased look :—" From your hearts all fear  
 Dismiss, O Teucri ; set apart all care ;  
 Necessity compels me, and my realm's  
 Newness, to take these measures, and my frontier  
 Fend with wide guard. Who not the race Enean  
 Knows, and Troy city ; heroes, and heroisms, 680  
 And conflagration of so great a war ?  
 Not so obtuse the breasts we Poeni bear,  
 Nor so averse yokes Sol from the Tyrian city.  
 Whether Hesperia great, and Saturn's fields,  
 Or Eryx' bounds ye choose, and king Acestes, 685  
 Safe I will send ye on with aid ; with means  
 Plenteous rejoice ye ; in these kingdoms here  
 Along with me to settle, if your wish be,  
 The city I found is yours ; strand high your ships ;  
 Trojan and Tyrian shall be one to me ; 690  
 And glad I were, that king Eneas' self  
 Were present here, compelled by the same Notus :  
 Scouts certainly through the sea-coasts I'll send,  
 And bid search Libya's extremes, lest by the waves  
 Eject, he wander in some wood or city." 695

Emboldened by these words, Achates brave  
 And sire Eneas, from the cloud to break  
 Some time were burning ; and Achates first

- Bespeaks Eneas :—" Goddess-born, what thought  
 Now in thy breast springs? All things safe thou seest ;  
 Fleet, crews recovered ; absent one alone,  
 Whom in the midst of the waves ourselves saw sink :  
 All corresponds else to thy mother's words."  
 Scarce said, when suddenly the circumfused  
 Cloud cleaves, and purges into open air ; 705  
 Forth stands Eneas, and in brilliant light  
 Refulges, face and shoulders like a God ;  
 (f) For on the son the mother's self had breathed  
 The hair becoming, and the purple light,  
 And joyous honors of the eyes, of youth ; 710  
 (g) Such added grace the hand to ivory gives,

(f) V. 589.—*Decoram Caesariem nato genitrix, lumenque juvenae Purpureum, et laetos oculis afflârat honores.* *Juventae* belongs to *caesariem* and *honores*, as well as to *lumen* ; because, *becoming hair and joyful brightness of the eyes* belong, no less than a *fresh colour*, to *youth* ; and because the expressions, *decora caesaries* and *laetos honores*, are weak and indefinite, unless joined with *juventae*.

(g) V. 592.—*Quale manus, &c.* The celebrated couplet, in which Thomson, speaking of Lavinia's lover, says,

He saw her charming, but he saw not half  
 The charms her downcast modesty concealed,

is not inapplicable to the commentators and translators of this passage, who have seen but half its charms, the other half lying hid behind the slight shading of Virgil's most delicate pencil. Let us follow the traces which lead to the retreat of the concealed beauty. Virgil never uses a word which is unnecessary, or which has not an appropriate meaning and object ; but in the passage before us, he applies to *gold* the adjunct *yellow*,

which is wholly useless unless it is emphatic, and something more is meant than appears at first sight. That it is emphatic, and that something more is meant than appears at first sight, the reader will, I think, be satisfied, on a review of the whole simile. Eneas, whom Venus has adorned with a fine flowing head of hair, and an unusual brilliancy and beauty of countenance, is compared, first, to an ivory image to which the hands of the artist have given the highest degree of polish—the ivory representing the person of Eneas, and the polish the beauty super-added by Venus ; and 2ndly, to a piece of wrought silver, or Parian marble, chased or framed in *yellow gold*—the silver or Parian marble being the resplendent face and bust of Eneas, and the *yellow circumference*, or *frame*, of *gold*, being *the profusion of yellow hair, in which his face and bust seemed to be, as it were, set.*

This interpretation of the passage (probable, even if there were no further evidence of Eneas's hair having been yellow, than is supplied by the passage itself, and by the universal sentiment of poetical antiquity, that yellow hair,

Or as when silver or the Parian stone  
 Is set in yellow gold, circumferent.  
 The queen he then accosts, and suddenly,  
 By all, says, unexpected :—" Whom ye seek, 715  
 Present behold ; Trojan Eneas, snatched  
 From the Libyan waves. O thou, who pitiest sole  
 Troy's toils infandous ; who, with us, of the Danaï  
 The leavings, us by every chance exhaust  
 Of sea and land, and needy of all things, 720  
 Sharest city and home, to pay thee worthy thanks  
 Excels our power, O Dido ; excels the power  
 Of all that now is of the Dardan race,  
 Over the great globe wheresoever scattered.  
 The Gods (if any Gods regard the pious, 725  
 If aught just anywhere), and thine own mind,  
 Conscious of right, reward thee worthily.  
 What so glad age produced thee ? What so great  
 Parents thee such engendered ? Whilst the river  
 Into the frith runs, whilst the mountain shadow 730  
 Lustrates the vale, whilst feeds the pole the stars,  
 So long for ever lasts thy name, praise, glory ;  
 (h) Me whatsoever lands call." Thus he said,

*flavi crines, flava coma*, was indispensable to beauty, whether male or female,) is strongly confirmed, I might almost say demonstratively proved, by the parallel simile in the fourth book, in which it cannot be doubted that Eneas's hair is compared to the yellow or golden hair, and even to the actual gold in the hair, of Apollo himself. *Qualis ubi.....Apollo.....fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat AURO*. En. iv, 143—148.

(h) V. 610.—*Quae me cunque, &c.* "Quocunque abiero, beneficii accepti memor ero." Heyne. "In iis terris in quibus consero, ut perennis sit beneficii tui memoria efficiam." Wagner. Both which interpretations are erroneous, Eneas's nobler sentiment being, *no matter whither I may be called, no matter what becomes of me, your fame will last as long as the world itself*. The reader will also recognise in the words, *quae me cunque vocant*

And his friend Ilioneus with right hand sought,  
 Serestus with his left; the others then, 735  
 And the brave Gyas, and Cloanthus brave.

Astound Sidonian Dido, at first aspect,  
 Then at so great misfortune, of the man;  
 And spake:—"What destiny, O Goddess-born,  
 Pursues thee through such perils? to these shores 740  
 Immane, what force applies thee? That Eneas  
 Art, whom boon Venus to Anchises Dardan  
 Gendered by side of Phrygian Simois' wave?  
 Well I remember, when from bounds paternal  
 Teucer expelled, to Sidon came, new realms 745  
 By aid of Belus seeking; then my sire  
 Belus had harried, and with victor sway  
 Was holding fruitful Cyprus; from that time  
 Known to me Troy's misfortune, and thy name,  
 And the Pelasgian kings: himself, the foe, 750  
 Wont to extol with signal praise the Teucris,  
 And from the old Teucrian stock traced fain his birth.  
 Come, therefore, young men, and our dwelling enter;  
 Me, too, through many a toil tost, a like fortune  
 Hath willed to sit down in this land at last; 755  
 To succour misery, mine own sorrows teach me."  
 She says, and in the fanes same time proclaiming  
 Rites divine, leads Eneas to the palace;  
 Nor to the crews the less sends to the shore  
 Bulls twenty, great-chined bristly boars a hundred, 760

*terrae*, (*vocant* being in the indicative, not the subjunctive mood,) a polite and graceful intimation, in answer to Dido's invitation (v. 572), that Eneas's duty leads him away from Carthage.

And, with their dams, a hundred fatted lambs,  
And gifts and joy of the inspiring God.

- (i) Splendid with regal luxury, the house  
Is laid out, in the interior, for the banquet ;  
Art-labored cover-cloths superb of crimson ; 765  
Huge silver on the board ; and sires' exploits  
Gold carved, a long long story, from the old  
Birth of the nation, down through many a hero.

- Eneas, whose paternal love not suffered  
(\*) His mind to rest, Achates sends before 770  
Swift to the ships, these tidings to announce  
Ascanius, and conduct him to the city ;  
All the dear parent's care is in Ascanius :  
Gifts too from Troy's ruins snatched commands him bring,  
The palle with signs and gold stiff, and the wimple 775  
Round bordered with the bearsfoot's saffron flower ;  
The adorn of Argive Helen ; which she brought  
Out from Mycenae, when for Pergamus  
She bouned her, and illicit hymeneals ;  
Of mother Leda gift admirable : 780  
The sceptre too which Ilione had borne,  
Eldest of Priam's daughters, and pearl necklace,  
And double coronet of gems and gold.

Achates to the ships his way was wending,  
These things to expedite ; but Cytherea 785  
New arts revolves, new counsels in her breast ;

(i) V. 637.—*Regali splendida luxu vastabat multâ caede*. See also note to *instruitur*. The structure is *splendida dirae ferro et compagibus arctis*, v. 293. *regali luxu*, not *instruitur regali luxu* ; (\*) V. 644.—*Praemittit. Prae—sciz.*, as in v. 471, *cruentus multâ caede*, not, *before the bearers of Dido's presents*.

How, changed in face and speaking, Cupid come  
 In place of sweet Ascanius ; with the gifts  
 Inflame to rage, the queen ; and implicate  
 Into her bones the fire. She dreads, be sure, 790  
 The ambiguous house, and Tyrians double-tongued ;  
 Atrocious Juno frets her, and her care  
 Returns nights ; therefore wing-bearing love  
 Thus she addresses :—" Son, who art alone  
 My strength and mighty power ; son, who contemn'st  
 The darts Typhoean of the supreme Father,  
 To thee I flee, and suppliant beg thy God-aid.  
 How about every coast thy brother Eneas  
 Sea-test, thou knowest, by unjust Juno's hate,  
 And with my grief hast oft grieved : him Phœnician  
 Dido possesses, and detains with soft words ;  
 And where this hospitality Junonian  
 May end, I fear ; she in so great a hinge  
 Will not be idle : to anticipate  
 In wiles, I meditate therefore, and with flame 805  
 Surround the queen, that by no God-power changed,  
 She to Eneas may with me be bound  
 In great love. Now, how this thou may'st effect,  
 My mind hear. At his dear sire's call, prepares  
 The royal boy, my chiefest care, to go 810  
 To the Sidonian city, bearing gifts,  
 Survivors of the sea, and flames of Troy.  
 On high Cythera or Idalium, him,  
 Entranced in sleep, I'll hide in sacred covert ;  
 (1) Lest by some means he learn, or in the midst 815

(1) V. 682.—*Ne qua scire dolos*, &c. nius, that it may be impossible for him,  
 Venus proposes so to dispose of Asca- either knowingly or accidentally, to in-



Come thwart, our artifice. Thou, for no more  
 Than one night, cheat his face, and, a boy, wear  
 The boy's known features; that, when to her bosom  
 Most joyous Dido takes thee, midst the royal  
 Tables, and cups Lyæan; when she hugs thee, 820  
 And with sweet kisses prints, thou mayst instil  
 The occult fire and cheat her with the poison."  
 Love his dear mother's words obeys, and doffs  
 His wings, and in Iulus' step walks glad.  
 But Venus irrigates Ascanius' limbs 825  
 With placid sleep, and cherished in her bosom  
 The Goddess bears him to Idalia's high groves,  
 Where soft amaracus, upon him breathing  
 With flowers and sweet shade, wraps him in its embrace.

And now in guidance of Achates, glad 830  
 Cupid, obedient to the word, was wending,  
 And to the Tyrians bearing the gifts regal.  
 Already had the queen, when he arrived,  
 Beneath superb dais, on a golden sofa  
 Composed herself, and taken the mid seat; 835  
 And now the sire Eneas, Troy's youth now,  
 Assemble, and on crimson cover-cloths,  
 Several recline; domestics on the hands  
 Pour water, and the bread with salvers hasten,  
 And bring the towel's shorn nap: fifty maids 840

terrupt her plot. That this is the meaning is sufficiently evidenced: 1st —by the disjunctive *ve.* 2ndly—by the word *occurrere*, indicating an accidental, not an intentional interruption; and 3rdly—by the no less necessity which existed, of preventing the real Ascanius from *accidentally* appearing, than of *keeping him in ignorance of what was going on.*

In order long, within, the provand dress,  
 And the Penates fumigate with sweet flame.  
 A hundred others, and as many age-matched  
 Pages, the tables load, and set the cups.  
 Nor gather not the Tyrians, through the glad 845  
 Approaches frequent, and commanded take  
 On pictured tores their places of reclining,  
 Admire Eneas' gifts, admire Iulus,  
 And the God's flagrant face, and words of feigning,  
 The palle, and painted wimple's saffron bearsfoot. 850  
 Hapless Phoenissa most, the coming pest's  
 Devoted victim, cannot her mind fill full,  
 And, gazing, kindles, by the boy alike moved,  
 And gifts. He, from Eneas' neck and embrace  
 When he had hung; and of his feigned sire filled 855  
 The great love, seeks the queen. She, with her eyes,  
 Clings to him, and her whole heart; in her bosom  
 (m) Between whiles cuddles him; unconscious Dido  
 How great a God sits brood upon her wretched.  
 But he, of Acidalian mother mindful, 860  
 Sichaeus gradual begins obliterate,  
 And with a live love her long listless spirit  
 And heart's desuetude tries to prevert.

(m) V. 718.—*Inscia Dido, Insideat  
 quantus miserae deus.* "That the word  
*Dido*, after *reginam* and *haec*, is clumsy,  
 and hath a bad effect, will be acknow-  
 ledged, I believe, by every poet. I  
 should rather thus: *Inscia quantus,  
 Insideat quantus miserae Deus.*" Jor-  
 tin. Philol. Tracts. On the contrary,  
 the insertion of Dido's name in this  
 position not only gives additional

pathos to the passage, but is according  
 to Virgil's manner. *Donec regina sa-  
 cerdos, Marte gravis geminam partu  
 dabit Ilia prolem.* En. i, 273. See  
 also v. 496, and note. The proposed  
 repetition of *quantus* would have only  
 operated to withdraw the attention  
 from the principal personage, for the  
 purpose of fixing it on one which per-  
 forms only a secondary part.

- After the feast's first pause, and trays removed,  
 They stablish the great beakers, and the wines crown ;  
 The din the house fills, and they roll their voices  
 Through the wide halls. Hang from the golden ceilings  
 Chandeliers burning ; and the flambeau's blaze  
 Conquers the night. Heavy with gems and gold,  
 The queen then calls for, and with pure, a cup fills, 870  
 Which Belus, and from Belus down, wont use ;  
 Then silence had :—" O Jupiter, for thou  
 (n) Art lord, they say, of hospitable rites,  
 Happy may this day to the Tyrians be,  
 And Trojan travellers ; and may our heirs 875  
 This day remember ; may joy-giving Bacchus  
 Be present, and good Juno ; and ye, Tyrians,  
 With favor the re-union celebrate."  
 She said, and on the board, libating, poured  
 The liquor's honor ; then the cup, with lips 880  
 Just touching first, to Bitias gave with chiding :  
 Nor slothful he the foam bowl quaffed, and drenched him  
 With the full gold ; the other nobles after.  
 To golden lyre, long-tressed Iopas sings  
 (o) The lore of greatest Atlas ; the moon devious 885  
 Sings, and sun's labors ; whence the race of men  
 And beasts ; the lightning whence, and whence the shower ;  
 Arcturus, and the rainy Hyades,  
 And twin Triones ; why the winter suns

(n) V. 731.—*Dare jura.* See Note, i. 293.

(o) V. 741.—*Docuit quae maximus Atlas.* The calm and philosophical subject of Iopas's song contrasts finely with the subsequent romantic and exciting

narrative of Eneas. In this respect, as in so many others, Virgil has improved upon his master, who, making his minstrel sing, and his hero tell, similarly romantic stories, loses the advantage of contrast. See *Odyss.* books viii, ix.

- (P) So haste to dip in ocean, or what let 890  
 Stands in the slow nights' way. Ingeminate  
 Plaudits the Tyrians, and the Trojans follow.

Nor hapless Dido not with various speech  
 The night protracted, and the long love drank ;  
 Much asking oft of Priam, much of Hector ; 895  
 Now, in what arms Aurora's son had come,  
 Now, Diomede's horses what like ; now, how great  
 Achilles :—"Nay ; come, guest, relate," she says,  
 (Q) "The ambush of the Danaï from commencement ;  
 Thy friends' misfortunes ; and own wanderings 900  
 Now the seventh summer, o'er all lands and waves."

(P) V. 746.—*Quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.* Sciz., *quin praecipitantes coelo* (see En. ii, 8) *se quoque tingant oceano.*

(Q) V. 754.—*Dic.....nobis Insidias.....Danaum.* See En. ii, 65, and note.

## POSTSCRIPT.

After the note on *Huic conjux Sichaeus erat*, (v. 343,) was printed, I was agreeably surprised to meet in Shakspeare an account of a betrothing, which, like that of Sichaeus and Dido, had been universally understood to be the account of an actual marriage, and which continues up to the present day to be so mistaken, notwithstanding the clear demonstration of the error by that highly accomplished commentator of the "native wood-notes wild," Mr. Francis Douce; see his *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1807. The passage is in the Twelfth Night,

Act v, sc. 3, where Olivia says to the priest :—

Father, I charge thee by thy reverence  
 Here to unfold, (though lately we intended  
 To keep in darkness, what occasion now  
 Reveals before 'tis ripe) what thou dost know  
 Hath newly past between this youth and me.

To which the priest answers :—

A contract of eternal bond of love,  
 Confirmed by mutual joinder of your hands,  
 Attested by the holy close of lips,  
 Strengthened by interchangement of your rings,  
 And all the ceremony of this compact  
 Sealed in my function, by my testimony.

These words which, at first sight, seem to be the plain periphrasis of *matri-*

mony (how much more plainly so than Virgil's *Huic conjux Sichaeus erat*, &c.!) are yet shown by Mr. Douce, beyond the possibility of doubt, not merely to be descriptive of *betrothing*, but to contain the most precise and accurate enumeration of the several particulars of which that ceremony, as practised at the time, consisted, viz.: 1st—the contract; 2nd—the joining of hands (whence, perhaps, one reason for the term *jugdrat*, used by Virgil); 3rd—the kiss; 4th—the *interchange* of rings; and 5th—the testimony. Mr. Douce gives us even the very terms of the oath administered by the priest to the betrothing parties:—"You swear by God and his holy saints herein, and by all the saints of Paradise, that you shall take this woman, whose name is N., to wife, within forty days, if holy church will permit." The priest then joined their hands, and said, "And thus you affiance yourselves." To which the parties answered, "Yes, sir." "They then," proceeds Mr. Douce, "received a suitable exhortation on the nature and design of mar-

riage, and an injunction to live piously and chastly until that event should take place; they were not permitted, at least by the church, to reside in the same house, *but were nevertheless regarded as man and wife* independently of the usual privileges; and this will account for Olivia's calling Cesario *husband*. So, in *Measure for Measure*, Claudio calls Julietta his *wife*, and says he got possession of her bed, upon a true *contract*; the Duke likewise, in addressing *Mariana*, who was *affianced* to Angelo, says, 'He is your *husband*, on a pre-contract,' &c.

To which observations I may, perhaps, be allowed to add, that what Claudio says respecting Julietta, is even more confirmatory of Mr. Douce's views, (and, therefore, of mine,) than has been perceived by Mr. Douce himself; for, as will appear on a reference to the passage, Claudio does not apply the term *wife* to his betrothed, in a figurative or poetical, but in a strict, sense, and insists that *the betrothing* is the real bond of union, and the marriage, a mere ceremony.

#### END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

# THE ENEIS.

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## BOOK II.

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ALL hushed and gazed intent, when thus the sire  
Eneas from the lofty tore began :—

(a)(b)(c) 'Thou bidst, O queen, revive a grief infandous.

How by the Danaï Troy's strength o'erthrown,

(a) V. 3.—*Infandum, regina, jubes* &c. The received interpretation represents Eneas as saying, *jubes renovare dolorem*, (subaudito *jubens narrare*,) *ut eruerint*, &c. I consider this interpretation, and the punctuation founded on it, as wholly erroneous. First, because there is not a sufficiently obvious and natural connexion between *jubes renovare dolorem* and *ut eruerint*. Secondly, because the connexion sought to be established between these two sentences, by the supposed ellipsis of *jubens narrare*, is forced, and neither in conformity with the Latin idiom, nor with the lucid style of Virgil. Thirdly, because the formal restatement by Eneas, in his very first sen-

tence, of the particulars of the command he had received from Dido, resembles rather the exordium of a cold and practised rhetorician, than the commencement of a simple narrative, by a magnanimous prince, strongly excited by the recollection of the actual miseries he had seen and suffered. Fourthly, because it were selfish and egotistical in Eneas to dwell on his own grief, through so long a sentence as one beginning with *infandum* and ending with *fui*; especially as he returns almost immediately afterwards to the same subject, at the words *quanguam* &c.

I am, therefore, of opinion that Eneas's first sentence ends with the word *dolorem*; and that the words

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(b)(c) For these references, see next page.

And realm lamentable ; the harrowing

5

(d) Miseries I saw, and was myself great part ;

*Trojanas ut opes* commence a new sentence, depending not on the preceding *jubes*, but on the subsequent *fando* : the period should, therefore, be at *dolorem*, and the comma (or semicolon) at *fui* ; and the structure is, *Quis temperet a lacrymis fando talia* ; sciz., *Trojanas ut opes* &c. The first sentence is thus a brief and natural exclamation of emotion, produced by the ideas which crowded on Eneas's mind at the moment ; and he instantly, and with dignity, passes from his own emotion, and goes on to say, that not even a Myrmidon could relate so sorrowful a tale without tears. The beautiful connexion between *dolorem* and *lacrymis*, almost wholly lost as the passage is at present understood, is thus preserved, and forcibly presented to the mind. The precise word to be supplied before *ut eruerint* is, in conformity with the Latin idiom, and Virgil's perspicuous style, pointed out by the subsequent *talia* ; *Talia fando*, sciz., *fando ut eruerint*.

We almost see and hear Eneas, while, in the deepest emotion, with tears and faltering voice, he closes his first sentence at *dolorem* ; and then, after a short pause recovering himself, and commencing anew in the fine pathetic words, *Trojanas ut opes* &c., at once excites the sympathy of his hearers, and apologises for his own emotion, *Quis talia fando* &c.

I do not know whether other readers will agree in the opinion, but it certainly appears to me, that, independently of all other arguments, we might recognise a commencing sentence, in the very sound and rhythm and dignity of the words, *Trojanas ut opes et lamentabile regnum*, &c.

(b) V. 3.—*Infandum....dolorem*. The translators (with the exception of Dryden and Sir J. Denham, who

never even so much as attempt the true meaning of any of Virgil's words), agree in rendering *infandus*, *ineffable*, *that cannot be told* : "untellible" (Douglas) ; "cannot be told" (Surrey) ; "past utterance severe" (Beresford) ; "unausprechlichen" (Voës) ; So also Forbiger, in his note on the passage ; "*Qui tantus est ut verbis exprimi non possit*." A very slight observation, however, of Virgil's use of the word in other places, as for instance, En. i, 251 ; ii, 132 ; iv, 85 and 613, is sufficient to show that its meaning is not *ineffable* or *that cannot be told*, but primarily (and according to the proper force of the participle in *dus*) *that should not, must not be told*, and therefore, secondarily, *horrible*. So Richardson, in his excellent dictionary, "*Infandous* [Lat. *Infandus*], That ought not to be spoken ; too dreadful to be spoken." And such is Howell's use of the word (quoted by Richardson). "This *infandous* custom of swearing, I observe, reigns in England lately, more than any where else." The wide difference between *infandous* and *ineffable* will be manifest on the substitution of *ineffable* for *infandous* in this sentence.

The Spanish and Italian translators have not fallen into this error.

La horrible historia y el dolor infando.

*Velasco.*

Dogliosa istoria,

E d'amara e d'orribil remembranza.

*Caro.*

(c) V. 3.—*Infandum, regina, jubes* &c.

Poi cominciò : Tu vuoi ch' i' rinnovelli

Disperato dolor che 'l cuor mi preme,

Già pur pensando, pria ch' i' ne favelli.

*Dante, Infer. xxxiii, 4.*

(d) V. 5.—*Quaeque ipse miserrima vidi*, &c. *Quaeque* is epexegetic and limitative ; the meaning of Eneas being, not that he will describe the

What Myrmidon or Dolops, could such theme  
Tearless discourse, or hard Ulysses' soldier ?

taking of Troy, *and* the miseries he had himself witnessed, but that he will describe *so much* of the taking of Troy, and its miseries, *as* he had himself witnessed.

The view thus suggested by the grammatical structure of the introductory sentence, is confirmed by the narrative itself; for Eneas, having briefly mentioned the building of the wooden horse, and the concealment of the Grecian navy at Tenedos, immediately proceeds to say, that he was one of those who issued out of the gates rejoicing, as soon as the news of the departure of the Greeks was bruited abroad—that he saw the horse, and was present at the argument respecting what should be done with it—that he saw Laocoon fling his spear against it, and heard it sound hollow—that his attention was drawn off by the sudden appearance of Sinon, of the whole of whose story he was an ear-witness—that he was one of those who agreed to spare Sinon's life—that he saw the two serpents come across the sea, and destroy Laocoon and his two sons—that he assisted to break down the wall in order to admit the horse into the city—that Hector appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that the city was on fire and could not be saved; advised him to fly, and committed the Penates to his charge—that on awaking he saw, from the roof of the house, the city in flames—that, flying to arms, he met Pantheus, the priest of Apollo, escaping from the citadel, with his gods' images and the other sacred objects of his religion—that Pantheus informed him that armed men were pouring out of the horse, that Sinon was a traitor and had fired the city, and that the whole Grecian army was entering at the gates—that he united himself with a few friends whom he happened to

meet, and falling in with Androgeos, and a party of Greeks, they slew them every one, and clothed themselves with their spoils—that, thus disguised, they for a while carried terror and death every where, but at length, in attempting to rescue Cassandra from a party who were dragging her from the temple, were discovered to be Trojans, and attacked by the Greeks, while the Trojans, taking them for Greeks, overwhelmed them with missiles from the top of the temple—that, the greater number of his party having thus perished, he, with the small remainder, was attracted by the tumult to Priam's palace, from the roof of which he beheld the door forced, the building set on fire, the women and the aged king driven for shelter to an altar in an interior court, and the king himself slain at the altar in the blood of his son—that, his companions having leaped in despair to the ground, or given themselves up to the flames, he was left alone—that, descending and happening to see Helen where she was hiding, he was about to sacrifice her to the Manes of his country, when his arm was stayed by Venus, who commanded him to seek out his aged parent and his wife and child, and with them fly instantly from Troy; and who, at the same time taking off the veil which clouded his mortal vision, showed him the Gods actively and personally engaged in the destruction of the city—that, having returned to his father's house, he saw the encouraging omens of an apex of fire on the head of Iulus, and a star shooting in the direction of Ida—that he escaped out of the city bearing his father on his shoulders, and leading Iulus by the hand—that Creusa, following behind, was lost on the road—that, returning to seek her, he found his father's house filled with Greeks, and



And now from heaven precipitates dank night,  
And setting stars persuade sleep ; yet so great

10

on fire — that, extending his search every where, he returned to the citadel, and saw Phenix and Ulysses guarding captives and booty in the temple of Juno—that, as he called aloud upon Creusa through the streets and houses, her shade presented itself, and informing him that she was provided for by the mother of the Gods, enjoined him to abandon all search for her, and proceed upon his divine mission to found a new empire in Hesperia, where another, and a royal, spouse awaited him—that accordingly he returned to the place, where he had concealed his father and son and domestics, and found there a great number of fugitives from the burning city, collected, and prepared to share his fortunes ; and that with them and his father and son, he bade adieu for ever to Troy, and made good his retreat to the mountains.

Nothing can be plainer than that this is a mere *personal* narrative of one of the principal sufferers ; every circumstance related, with the single exception of the concealment of the Grecian fleet at Tenedos, having been witnessed by the relator, or heard by him on the spot from Pantheus or Sinon. This is, I think, a sufficient answer to those critics, who have objected to Virgil's account of the taking of Troy, that it is by no means a full, complete, and strategical account of the taking of a great city ; that many circumstances which may be supposed to have happened, and which indeed must have happened on such an occasion, have been either wholly omitted or left unexplained ; and that, in short, Virgil, in his second book of the Eneis, has evinced his infinite inferiority in strategical science to his great prototype and master, Homer. Many such objections have been urged from time to

time by various critics ; and, amongst others, by a celebrated personage, whose opinion on any matter connected with military tactics must be received with the greatest deference ; I mean the Emperor Napoleon, whose observations on this subject are to be found in a volume published after his death under the following title : *Précis des Guerres de César, par Napoléon ; écrit par M. Marchand, à l'île Sainte Hélène, sous la dictée de l'Empereur ; suivi de plusieurs fragmens inédits.* Paris, 1836. 1 vol. 8vo.

It is not my intention to enter into a detailed examination or refutation of all Napoleon's objections (although I shall probably in the course of these notes have occasion to refer specially to more than one of them), but simply to state that the whole of his critique is founded on the assumption that Virgil intended to give, or ought to have given, such a full and complete account of the taking of Troy as was given by Homer of the operations before its walls ; such an account as might have been given by an historian, or laid before a directory by a commander-in-chief. On the contrary, it is to be borne carefully in mind, that, Homer's subject being the misfortunes brought by the wrath of Achilles, upon the army besieging Troy, that poet could scarcely have given too particular or strategical an account of all that happened before the Trojan walls ; while, Virgil's subject being the adventures and fortunes of one man, (as sufficiently evidenced by the very title and exordium of his work), the taking of Troy was to be treated of, only so far as connected with the personal history of that hero. Virgil, therefore, with his usual judgment, introduces the taking of Troy, not as a part of the action of his poem,

If thy desire, of our misfortunes' story  
To have acquaintance, and in brief to hear

but as an episode; and, still more effectually to prevent the attention from being too much drawn away from his hero, and too much fixed upon that great and spirit-stirring event, puts the account of it into the mouth of the hero himself, whom, with the most wonderful art, he represents either as a spectator or actor in so many of the incidents of that memorable night, that on the one hand the account of those incidents is the history of the adventures of his hero, and on the other the adventures of his hero form a rapid précis of the taking of Troy.

Even if it had been otherwise consistent with the plan of the Eneis to have given a full and complete account of the taking of Troy, and to have described, for instance, (as required by Napoleon,) how the other Trojan chiefs, signalised in the Iliad, were occupied during that fatal night, and how each defended his own quarter of the city with the troops under his command, such a full account must necessarily, either have rendered Eneas's narrative too long to have been delivered *inter mensas latincemque Lyaeum*; or, to make room for that additional matter, some part of the present story should have been left out; and then, I ask, which of the incidents would the reader be satisfied should have been omitted?—that of Laocoon, the unceasing theme and admiration of all ages, that shuddering picture of a religious prodigy?—that of Simon, on which the whole plot hangs?—that of the vision, of the inimitable *Tempus erat, the moestissimus Hector*?—that of the Priameian priestess, *Ad coelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, Lumina nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas*?—that of Neoptolemus blazing in burnished brass, *Qualis ubi in lucem coluber*?—

or Hecuba and her daughters flying to the sheltering altar, *Praecipites atræu tempestate columbae*?—or the good old king, cased in the long-unused armour, and slipping and slain in his Polites' blood?—or Venus staying her son's hand, lifted in vengeance against the fatal spring of all these sorrows?—or the innoxious flame which, playing about the temples of Iulus, foreshowed him the father of a line of kings?—or the *ter frustra comprehensa imago* of the for ever lost Creusa? Which of all these passages should have been omitted, to make room for the additional matter required by the imperial critic? What reader will consent to give up one, even one, of these most precious pearls, these conspicuous stars in, perhaps, the most brilliant coronet that ever graced a poet's brow? And even if the reader's assent were gained; if he were content with less of Eneas, and more of the other Homeric Trojans; with less of the romance, and more of the art, of war; would such an account have been equally interesting to the assembled guests and the love-caught queen? How coldly would a story in which Eneas played a subordinate part have fallen upon Dido's ear? How would not her thought have wandered from the thing told, to the teller? There was but one way to guard against the double danger, that Dido would forget the story in thinking of Eneas, and that the reader would forget Eneas in thinking of the story; and Virgil adopted that way—he made Eneas speak of himself—*quaeque ipse miserissima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui*. With what effect he spoke we learn in the beginning of the fourth book—*haerent infixi pectore vultus Verbaque, and Dido herself testifies; Heu, quibus ille Jactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta*

Troy's last toil, though my soul shuddering recoils  
(e) From that sad memory, I will essay.

*canebat!* Or in the words of another great master of the human heart,

His story being done,  
She gave him for his pains, a world of sighs:  
She swore—in faith 'twas strange, 'twas passing  
strange;

'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful;  
She wished she had not heard it; yet she wished  
That heaven had made her such a man; she  
thanked him,  
And bade him if he had a friend that loved her,  
He should but teach him how to tell his story  
And that would woo her.

But let us suppose that the modern commander is right, and the great ancient poet and philosopher wrong: that the error lies not in Napoleon's total misconception not only of Virgil's general scope and design, but of his meaning in the plainest passages (as, for instance, in the account of the situation of Anchises' house, and of the number of men contained in the horse); let us suppose, I say, that the error lies not in Napoleon's misconception of the poet, but in the poet's ignorance of heroic warfare; and that the episode does, indeed, sin against military tactique; (but see note, v. 604); yet where, in the whole compass of poetry, is there such another episode? so many heart-stirring incidents grouped together, representing in one vivid picture the fall of the most celebrated city in the world, and at the same time, and, *pari passu*, the fortunes of one of the most famous heroes of all antiquity, the son of Venus, the ancestor of Augustus, the first founder of Imperial Rome? spoken, too, by the hero himself, at a magnificent banquet, and in the presence not only of the princes of his own nation, (the partners of his sufferings, and the witnesses of the truth of all he related), but of the whole Carthaginian court, and at the request of the young and artless queen, who, already admiring

his god-like person and beauty, lost her heart more and more at every word he uttered, at every turn of griefs, which,

so lively shown,  
Made her think upon her own.

Alas, alas, for the cold-blooded criticism which could detect, or, having detected, could dwell upon, errors of military tactique in this flood of living poetry; which would chain the poet with the fetters of the historian; which, frigid and unmoved, could occupy itself with the observation of cracks and flaws in the scenic plaster, while the most magnificent drama ever presented to enraptured audience was being enacted!

(e) V. 13.—*Incipiam*. I may perhaps be accused of drawing too nice a distinction, yet I am inclined to think that *incipiam* here means not to *begin*, but to *attempt* or *essay*.

1st.—Because although it might, strictly speaking, be quite correct for Virgil, having just stated (v. 2) that Eneas *began* to speak (*orsus*) with the words *Infandum, regina, jubes &c.*, to cause Eneas almost instantly afterwards to say that he *began* his story with the words *Fracti bello &c.*; yet it would be highly unpoetical, and evince a barrenness of thought and expression, quite foreign to Virgil.

2.—Because it is evidently the intention of Eneas not merely to *begin*, but briefly to tell the *whole* story.

3.—Because the very word *begin* involves the idea of a long story, and thus, however true in point of fact, contradicts the intention expressed by *breviter* (v. 11). I, therefore, understand *incipiam* to be here used as in En. x, 876, in its primary and etymological meaning of undertaking, attempting, essaying, [*in capio*]; so understood, it harmonises with *orsus*,

- 'Warworn, by Fates repulsed, (and still away 15  
 (f) Years upon years are gliding), the Greek chiefs,  
 Of cloven pine strong-ribbed, a statued horse,  
 (g) With heaven-suggested art Palladian, build,  
 Huge as a mountain; for their safe return  
 Pretend it vowed, and spread that fame abroad; 20  
 (h) But in its sides' dark den, chosen ambushers

with Eneas's intention of telling the whole story, with *breviter*, and with the immediately preceding words, *Quoniam animus meminisse horret, &c.* *Beginnen*, the German root of our *begin*, means also to *essay*, to *attempt*; *Was wird er wieder beginnen? What will he essay next? Ein frevelhaftes Beginnen, An outrageous attempt.*

(f) V. 14.—*Tot jam labentibus annis.* The translators refer *labentibus* to the dim and faded past, instead of the vivid and continuing present; for instance, Surrey;

All irked with the war,  
Wherein they wasted had so many years.  
And Phaer;

When all in vaine so many yeeres had past.  
Yet the present and continuing force of *labentibus* is doubly evident; because the verb *labor* expresses a continuing action, and the present participle a continuing time. It is this continuing sense (observed, with his usual acumen, by Wagner, *Quest. Virg. xxix, 1*), which constitutes the poetical beauty of the passage before us, as well as of Horace's exquisite

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,  
Labuntur anni.

Dryden, according to his custom, blinks the meaning altogether.

(g) V. 15.—*Divinâ Palladis arte.* Of the deities favorable to the Greeks, Pallas is, with peculiar propriety, selected to instruct or assist them in building the horse; because, in the heathen mythology, every work of remarkable ingenuity (*e. g.* the building of the ship *Argo*. Valer. Flac. *Argon. L. i*; the construction of the first flute,

*Mart. viii, 51*), was ascribed to Pallas, as the inventress of the arts.

(h) V. 18.—*Huc delecta virum &c.* Let not the too prosaic reader, interpreting this sentence according to its literal structure, suppose it to mean that, besides the *delecta virum corpora*, which were inclosed in the hollow sides of the horse, the vast caverns of its womb were filled with armed soldiers; or, in other words, that a considerable vacancy, remaining after the selected chiefs were inclosed, was filled up with a large body of common soldiers. On the contrary, the latter clause of the sentence is only explanatory of the former; *armato milite* informing us that the *delecta virum corpora* were armed warriors; *cavernas Ingentes uterumque*, that by *coeco lateri* was meant the whole interior cavity, or chamber, of the statue; and *complemt* that the cavity was completely filled by the persons who were inclosed.

The correctness of this explanation cannot be doubted, 1st. Because it renders a passage, which, as commonly understood, is sufficiently prosaic and mediocre, highly poetical. 2ndly. Because it is according to Virgil's usual habit (see notes to *En. i, 496*; *ii, 51*), of presenting in the first clause of his sentence no more than the sketch, or skeleton, of his idea, and then, in the subsequent clause, filling it up and clothing it with flesh and life; and 3rdly. Because, it afterwards appears (*v. 260 et seq.*) that the horse contained only nine persons.

I may add that I understand the

By lot they hide, and with their chivalry  
Fill the vast chamber of its caverned womb.

‘Lies within sight, the isle, much known by fame,  
Of Tenedos; wealthy and flourishing, 25  
While Priam’s strength endured; now but a bay,  
And roadstead faithless to the mariner.  
Hither they sail, and on the lonely coast  
Find hiding place; we doubt not they are gone,  
And for Mycenæ parted; her long griefs 30  
All Teucris straight forgets; her gates are flung  
Open; it joys us to go forth, and see  
Desert the Doric lines, vacant the shore;  
“Here pitched the Dolops, dread Achilles there;”  
(i) “This was the fleet-camp, that the battle-field.” 35

words *delecta virum sortiti corpora* to be equivalent to *delecta ipsorum sortiti corpora*, because *sortiti* is prædicated of *ductores Danaum*, and we find at v. 260 *et seq.* that the *delecta corpora* were of the number of those who were properly comprehended under the term *ductores Danaum*.

Error being fruitful of error, the received erroneous interpretation of this passage has produced the Emperor Napoleon’s erroneous criticism (see his essay quoted in Note on v. 5), that the wooden horse, containing so great a number of men, could not have been brought up to the walls of Troy in so short a space of time as is implied in the account given by Virgil. “En supposant” says the Emperor, “que ce cheval contient seulement cent guerriers, il devait être d’un poids énorme, et il n’est pas probable qu’il ait pu être mené du bord de la mer sous les murs d’Ilion en un jour, ayant surtout deux rivières à traverser.” The objec-

tion falls to the ground with the erroneous interpretation on which it is founded. See note, En. ii, 300.

(i) V. 30.—*Classibus hic locus*. In this passage Virgil, according to his custom, (see notes, En. i, 496; ii, 18 and 51,) presents us first (v. 27, 28) with the general idea, the deserted appearance of the places lately occupied by the Greeks; and then (v. 29, 30) supplies the particulars, in the words of the Trojans pointing out to each other the various localities.

The reader, however, must not be misled by the words *Classibus hic locus* to suppose that there was a place set apart for the ships. Innumerable passages in the *Iliad*, and especially the account of the battle at the ships, (*Iliad*, xiii), render it perfectly clear that, the ships being drawn up on the shore, the tents were erected beside and amongst them; the ships and tents of one nation forming one group, those of another nation another

The exitial gift of innupt Pallas some  
Admire, astonished; the stupendous horse;  
Which first Thymoetes, of a traitor's heart,

(*k*) Or so at last Troy's destinies o'erbore,  
To draw within the walls exhorts, and high 40  
Establish in the citadel: but some,  
Wiser, with Capys, would precipitate

(*l*) Into the sea, or with subjected flame  
Consume the Grecian gift's suspectful ambush,  
Or, boring, probe the hidings of its womb. 45

'The uncertain crowd, 'twixt counsels opposite  
Stand wavering, when, first before them all,  
Down from the citadel's high top, Laocoon,  
With no small companionment, impassioned runs,  
And yet afar, "What madness this," exclaims, 50  
"O miserable townsmen? credit ye

(*m*) The enemy departed? nor Greek guile

group, and those of a third nation a third group; and so on, along the entire line of shore occupied by the encampment. *Classibus* means therefore, not the ships, as *contra-distinguished* from the tents, but the ships taken together with their dependencies, the tents; or in other words it means the Grecian encampment, called *classes* by Virgil, and *ἀσπίς* by Homer, from its most important, and, especially from a distance, most conspicuous part, the ships.

Not only Dryden, but many of the other translators, render *Classibus hic locus*, 'here the navy rode,' with what understanding of the Iliad, or of ancient naval expeditions, (see En. iii, 71; ix, 69, 70,) or of the Grecian encampment, and mode of warfare, at

Troy, and especially of the battle at the ships, let the reader judge.

(*k*) V. 34.—*Seu jam Trojæ sic fata ferebant. Jam; now at last, after so many years of obstinate defence.*

(*l*) V. 37.—*Subjectisque urere flammis.* The advice of Capys consists of two alternatives; either to destroy the horse (by fire or water as they might prefer), or to explore its contents. The copulative *que* is used to connect together the two parts of which the first alternative consists. The English language does not admit of a similar structure.

(*m*) V. 43.—*Aut ulla putatis Danaum carere dolis Danaum?* Admirably translated by Schiller:—

Ein griechisches Geschenk und kein Betrug  
verborgen?

Such masterly touches, promissory

Read in Greek gift? known to ye thus Ulysses?

Or in this wood enclosed, Achivi hide;

Or 'tis a gin contrived against our walls,

55

Our houses to espy, and from above

Come down upon the city; or there lurks

Some error; Trojans, credit not the horse;

I fear the Danaï, albeit gift-bearing."

(\*) He said; and forceful hurled against the curved

60

(o) Compaginate, and side of the beast's belly,

of the future splendor of Schiller's genius, occur every now and then in his "Freie Uebersetzung" of the 2nd and 4th books of the Eneis; which is, however, on the whole, an inferior production, evincing not merely immaturity of poetical power, but a considerable want of perception of the delicacies of Virgil's expressions, and even some ignorance of the Latin language.

(\*) V. 50.—*Validis ingentem viribus* &c. The great size of the spear, and the force with which it is hurled, are not matters of indifference, but absolutely necessary to the production, on the huge mass of which the horse consisted, of the considerable effect described by the words

Uteroque recusso,  
Insonuere cavæ gemitumque dedere cavernæ.

Of the five terms most frequently used by Virgil to express the casting of a spear, viz., *jacio*, *conicio*, *torqueo*, *intorqueo*, and *contorqueo*, the two first are the weakest, and signify, *jacio*, simply to throw; *conicio*, to throw with the collected force of the individual, which, however, needs not be great, for the term is applied v. 545, to Priam throwing his *imbelle telum sine ictu*. The three latter signify to hurl; *torqueo*, simply to hurl; *intorqueo*, to hurl forcibly; *contorqueo*, with all the collected strength of a powerfully strong

man, *con* when applied in composition to the act of *one*, being no less intensive than when applied to that of a number of individuals; in the former case, indicating that the act is the result of the whole collected power of the one, in the latter that it is the result of the collected power of the several individuals concerned.

*Impello*, although interpreted by Heyne in his gloss on En. i, v. 82, *intorqueo*, *immitto*, is neither there, nor any where else, used in that sense; but always in the sense of pushing; either physically pushing, as in the passage just quoted (see Note, En. i, 81; see also En. vii, 621; viii, 239; &c.); or metaphorically pushing, as En. i, 11 ii, 55, 520; &c.

(o) V. 51.—*In latus, inque feri curvam compagibus alvum*. *In alvum* is not, as maintained by Thiel, and after him by Forbiger, *into the alvus*; 1st. Because there is much harshness in interpreting the *in* before *alvum*, so very differently from the *in* before *latus*, of which it is the mere repetition. 2ndly. Because the word *recusso*, v. 52, plainly implies that the interior of the horse was only concussed, not perforated. 3rdly. Because the expression *fero foedare*, v. 55, almost expresses that the interior had not been previously foedata *fero*. 4thly. Because the words *tergo intorserit*, v. 231, limit the

- (p) Huge spear, that fixed and trembled : hollow sounded  
 The concussed womb, and through its caverns groaned.  
 Then, had the Fates and our own senselessness  
 Not gainsaid, our incited steel had foul 65  
 Dishonor wrought to the Argolic lay-wait :  
 Thou, Troy, hadst lived ; thou, Priam's high arx, stood firm.

- ‘But see ! yon Dardan shepherds toward the king,  
 A stranger youth, with hands behind him bound,  
 Drag, shouting ; who, this stratagem to work, 70  
 (q) And Troy to the Achivi to betray,

lesion made by the *cuspis*, v. 230, to the *tergum*, a term never applied except to the exterior of the body. For all these reasons I reject Thiel's interpretation, and understanding (with Wagner) *que* to be taken epexegetically (see note, En. i, 496 ; ii, 18,) render the passage, *against that part of the side, which was the alvus or belly*. Thus the precise position of the wound is determined to have been in the hinder part of the side, corresponding to the cavity of the belly, not of the chest ; and in the lateral part of the belly, not the under part. Virgil chooses this position for the wound, with great propriety, because the portion of the horse's side corresponding to the belly, being much larger than that corresponding to the chest, not only afforded a better mark to Laocoon, but was precisely the part where the enclosed persons were principally situated.

(p) V. 53.—*Insonuere cavae, gemitumque dedere cavernae*. Not *cavae cavernae insonuere*, but *cavernae insonuere cavae* : *que* is epexegetic, and the meaning is, not that the hollow caverns both sounded and groaned, but that the caverns sounded hollow, and their hollow sound was like a groan. See note, ii, 552. The editors, not

understanding the structure, have omitted to place a comma at *cavae*.

(q) V. 60.—*Hoc ipsum ut strueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis*. *Que* is here epexegetic, (see notes, En. i, 496 ; ii, 18) ; and the meaning is, *that he might effect this very thing, and so open a way for the Greeks into Troy ; aperiret* being taken not in the sense of opening a door, (‘and open Troy's gates unto the Greeks.’ Surrey), but in its equally usual sense, of opening a way or means, or clearing a passage, as En. x, 13 and 864. Accordingly Sinon *aperit Trojan Achivis*, 1st. *Struendo hoc ipsum*, sciz., by telling so plausible a story as to induce the Trojans to take both himself and the horse into the city ; and 2ndly. By letting his confederates out of the horse during the night. Virgil has not informed us whether it was Sinon himself, or some of those confederates, who actually opened the city gates ; and from this circumstance alone, (independently of the argument derivable from the more elegant structure and the more poetic meaning,) we might safely infer that Virgil did not use the word *aperiret* in the sense ascribed to it by Surrey.

As *open*, the corresponding English word, is subject to the very same am-



Had, in their path, himself unsought presented ;  
 Assured, and for the alternative prepared,  
 To overreach, or die not doubtful death.  
 Eager to see, Troy's youth from every side  
 Circumfused rush, and vie to mock the prisoner.

75

- (r) "The ambush of the Danaï" now hear,  
 And from the single, learn the general crime.  
 For in mid-sight, confused, as there he stood,  
 (s) And helpless, and the Phrygian lances eyed round :—  
 "What land, alas ! shall refuge me," he says,  
 "Or sea ? or what resource now for a wretch,  
 To whom among the Danaï no place,  
 Whose forfeit life's-blood even the very Dardan  
 Incensed demands ?" Changed by that moan our spirit,  
 Repressed all onslaught ; we exhort him speak,

biguity as the Latin *aperio*, I have thought it better not to use it, lest I should lead my readers into the same error into which Virgil's own word has led so many readers of the original.

(r) V. 65.—*Danaum insidias*. These words are plainly repeated from Dido's request to Eneas. En. i, 754. I have, therefore, in my translation, placed them between inverted commas.

(s) V. 67.—*Inermis*. As *arma* means not merely *weapons*, whether offensive or defensive, but all kinds and means of offence or defence, so its compound *inermis* means not merely *without weapons*, but *without any means of offence or defence, helpless, defenceless*. The latter is the sense in which I think it is used in the passage before us, because, 1st. It is not to be supposed that Virgil, having told us that Sinon was a prisoner, with his hands bound behind his back, would think it necessary to inform us almost instantly afterwards, that he was *unarmed* or

*without weapons*. And 2ndly. Because, even if Sinon had not been bound, weapons could have been of no avail to him against the *egmina* by whom he was surrounded, and therefore the want of them made no real difference in his condition, and could not have been assigned, even by poetical implication, as a reason for his emotion or conduct. It is in this strong sense of *utterly without means of offence or defence*, and not in its literal sense of *weaponless*, that *inermis* is to be understood also in *Tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermes*, En. i, 487 ; because, although it might have contributed to the pathos of the picture, to have represented a young warrior's hands as stretched out *weaponless*, it could have had no such effect to have so represented the hands of Priam, who was so old as to be unable to wield weapons, and was equally *inermis*, (*helpless and defenceless*), whether he had arms in his hands or not. See En. ii, 509, 510, *et seq.*

His birth declare, and business, and what hope  
 For him a captive. From his fear at last,  
 (†) He says, recovered :—" All, whatso it be,

(†) V. 76.—*Depositâ tandem formidine*. I cannot agree with Heinsius and Brunk that this verse is objectionable, much less that it should be expunged, on the ground that it attributes fear to Sinon, whom Virgil but a few lines previously has represented as *fidens animi, atque paratus &c.* Neither do I plead in its defence, with Heyne and some other commentators, that Sinon first pretends to be agitated with fear (*turbatus*), and then pretends to lay his fear aside, "*figit Sinon et hoc, quasi deposuerit formidinem.*" Heyne. On the contrary I think that Virgil, having represented Sinon as entering upon the execution of his plot with boldness and confidence, represents him as really *turbatus, agitated and frightened*, when he comes to be actually confronted with the danger, and then as really recovering from his agitation when he finds that the immediate danger is over, and that the Trojans, instead of putting him to death instantly on the spot, are willing to hear what he has to say.

*Turbatus* means really agitated, and *depositâ formidine*, really recovering self-possession, because, 1st. If Virgil had intended to express by these words only simulated emotion, it cannot be doubted that he would have afforded some clue by which his intention might have been discovered; but he has not only not afforded any such clue, but has actually assigned sufficient cause for real emotion; Sinon is *turbatus*, because he stands *inermis* in the midst of the *Phrygia agmina*; and, *depositâ formidine, futur*, because *conversi animi, compressus et omnis Impetus*. 2ndly. If the words mean only simulated emotion, then Virgil represents Sinon as of such heroic constancy and resolution as to look upon instant

violent death without blenching; which is to hold him up, for so far at least, as an object of respect, and even of admiration, to Eneas's hearers as well as to Virgil's readers, and thus to contradict the intention (evidenced by the terms *dolis, arte, insidiis, crimine, scelerum tantorum, perjuri*), of representing him as a mean-minded man entering upon a dishonorable and dangerous enterprise, with an audacious confidence (*fidens animi, atque paratus &c.*), in his own cunning and duplicity. 3rdly. It is altogether unlikely that Virgil should here employ to express *simulated*, the very same words which he employs En. iii, 612, in a similar context and similar circumstances, to express *real* emotion. 4thly. There is a perfect harmony between *fidens animi, atque paratus &c.*, and *turbatus* understood to mean *real* agitation, because a man may enter upon a dangerous undertaking with confidence and even with courage (which latter quality however, it will be observed, is not expressed either by *fidens animi*, or *paratus &c.*) and yet quail before the instant, imminent danger, as exquisitely shown by Homer in his most natural and touching account of Hector's flight before Achilles: how much more then the wretch Sinon! 5thly. *Turbatus* means *real*, not *simulated* agitation, because *real* agitation was more likely to move the Trojans to pity than any *simulation* of it. Virgil, therefore, taking the most effectual method of moving the hearts of the Trojans, and recollecting perhaps the advice of his friend Horace, *Si vis me flere, primum fletum est ipsi tibi*, presents Sinon to them in a state of real agitation, pleading for his life with all the eloquence of unaffected fear. So Davos, (Ter. And. 4, 5) instead of acquainting

Truly to thee, O king, I will confess,  
Nor of Argolic nation will deny me ;

90

Mysis with his plot, and instructing her what answers she should give to Chremes, prefers to place her in such a situation, that, speaking the truth, and in entire ignorance of his design, her answers must yet of necessity be the very answers which he desired ; and when Mysis afterwards inquires why he had not schooled her as to his intentions, replies, Paullum interesse censens ex animo omnia ut fert natura facias, an de industriâ ? It was inconsistent with Virgil's plot, to make Sinon speak the truth, but he could with perfect consistency, and therefore did, represent him as actuated by real emotion ; which *real* emotion is in express terms contrasted with his *false* words at v. 107, *Prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur.*

The reader will, however, observe that Virgil, always judicious, carefully avoids ascribing extreme fear or agitation to Sinon ; he is *turbatus* (*agitated*), *pavitans* (*trembling*), but he does not, like Dolon, his undoubted original, become *Χλωρός ὑπὸ δυνεῖ*, nor do his teeth chatter, *αγαθός δὲ διὰ στόμα γυνὴ ὀδύσσειν*. Such extreme degree of terror, although beautifully consistent with the simple undisguised confession of Dolon, would have been wholly incompatible with the cunning and intricate web, which Sinon, almost from the first moment he opens his mouth, begins to wrap round the Trojans. It is therefore with the strictest propriety and observance of nature that Virgil represents Sinon, at first bold and confident ; then disconcerted and agitated at the prospect of immediate death ; then reassured by the encouragement he received ; then again losing confidence when the Trojans manifest the vehement impatience expressed by the words *Tum vero ardemus scitari* &c., and, with renewed fear and trembling

(*pavitans*), pursuing his feigned narrative ; and then, finally, when he had received an absolute promise of personal safety, going on, without further fear or hesitation, to reveal the pretended secret of his compatriots.

Throughout the whole story the reader must never forget that, although it was Virgil's ultimate object to deceive the Trojans, by means of Sinon, with respect to the horse, yet he had another object also to effect, (prior in point of time, and not less important than his ultimate object, because absolutely indispensable to the attainment of that ultimate object,) viz., to save Sinon's life, or, in other words, to assign to his reader sufficiently probable and natural reasons why the Trojans did actually spare his life, and did not, as might have been expected, execute such summary judgment upon him as Diomedes and Ulysses executed upon Dolon under similar circumstances. Accordingly, the first words which he puts into the mouth of Sinon are a thrilling exclamation of despair, a piteous cry for mercy, *Heu ! quae nunc tellus, &c.* This has the effect of staying the uplifted sword, of averting the first and instant danger, *compressus et omnis Impetus* ; they encourage him to speak, to tell who he is, and why he should not meet the captive's doom ; Sinon respires, recovers his self-possession, and endeavoring to make good his ground, and strengthen the favorable impression produced by his first words, says, that he was the friend of that Palamedes, of whose unjust condemnation and death they might have heard, and the principal cause of which was the opposition given by him to the undertaking of the war against Troy ; and that he had not, like the other Greeks, come to the war out of hostility to the Trojans, or

(u) This first: for, what though Fortune made him wretched,  
Her power malign into a babbling liar

even voluntarily, but had, when a mere boy (and, therefore, irresponsible), been sent by his father, who was so poor as not otherwise to be able to provide for his son. He then enters upon an account of his quarrel with, and persecution by, Ulysses, their most dreaded and implacable enemy; but, perceiving that they begin to take an interest in what he is saying, suddenly stops short, and artfully begs of them to put him out of pain at once, as he knew that, no matter how great or undeserved his sufferings had been, they could have no pity or forgiveness for one, who was guilty of the crime of being a Greek. The Trojan curiosity is inflamed, and they insist to know the sequel. He proceeds *pavtans*, (whether because he had not yet entirely recovered from his first alarm, or whether alarmed afresh by the vehemence and impatience of the Trojans, or whether from both these causes conjointly,) and relates how, by the villainous concert of the priest Calchas with Ulysses, he was selected to be offered up as a victim to appease the offended Gods; how he escaped from the altar, and lay hid during the night (the preceding night,) in a morass; and then lamenting that his escape from death by the hands of the Greeks had only led him to death by the hands of the Trojans, and that he was never more to see his country, home, or relatives, concludes with a pathetic adjuration, in the name of the Gods above, and of inviolable faith, that they would yet pity such unexampled, such undeserved misery, and spare his life. His tears, his agony of fear, the plausibility of his story, their sympathy with the object of the hatred and persecution of the Greeks and of

Ulysses, prevail; they grant him his life; and so closes the first act of the interlude of Sinon.

In nothing is the admirable judgment of Virgil more remarkable than in the skill, with which he has all this while kept the wooden horse, as it were, in abeyance. No act has been done, no word uttered, which could excite in the Trojan mind, or in the mind of the reader, ignorant of the sequel, the slightest suspicion that Sinon has any thing whatsoever to do with the horse, or the horse with Sinon. So careful is the poet to avoid every, even the slightest, ground for a suspicion, which would have been fatal to the entire plot, that it is from a distance, and by the agency of the Trojans themselves, that he brings Sinon into the vicinage of the horse; and that, in the whole course of the long history which Sinon gives of himself, and which the reader will observe is now concluded, the horse is never so much as mentioned, or even alluded to, except once, and then so artfully, (as it were only for the purpose of fixing a date,) that the mention which is made, while it stimulates the Trojans to question him on the subject, seems less remarkable than absolute silence would have been, inasmuch as it proves that Sinon does not *de industria* eschew all notice of an object, which must have attracted his attention, and of the purport of which he could not but be supposed to have some knowledge.

In the second act of the interlude, or that part which commences with v. 152, we find Sinon totally changed; "now more bold, The tempter..... New part puts on;" his life secure, guaranteed by the King himself, he is no longer the abject, cringing, hesi-

(u) For this reference see next page.

Shall not mould Sinon. To thine ear, perhaps,

In converse hath the name of Palamede

36

Belides reached, and wide fame-bruited glory ;

(\*) (y) Whom the Pelasgi, when a false cry rose

tating, trembling wretch, but the successful and exulting villain. He loudly and boldly invokes the Gods to witness his abjuration of the Greeks and acceptance of the Trojan covenant, and makes his revelation of the important secret which is to be the rich reward of the Trojan clemency, not, as he had pleaded for his life, in broken passages, leaving off at one place and commencing at another, but *uno tenore*, explaining, in uninterrupted sequence, the absence of the Greeks ; their intended return ; the object for which they built the horse ; and why they built it of so large dimensions ; the evil consequences to the Trojans if they offered it any injury, and to the Greeks if it were received into the city, &c. ; the impostor is fully credited, the generous, unwary, and fate-devoted Trojans are caught in the toils so delicately woven and so noiselessly drawn around them, and the curtain falls.

If the reader happen to be one of those critics, who think the story of the wooden horse deficient in verisimilitude, he will receive with the greater favor an interpretation which tends to increase the verisimilitude, by representing the falsehood and cunning of Sinon as united, not with that quality with which falsehood and cunning are so inconsistent, and so rarely united, heroic fortitude, but with their very compatible and nearly allied quality, audacity.

It is impossible to leave this subject without remarking how favorably to Trojan faith and generosity, (as might be expected, Virgil being the *poeta* and Eneas the narrator,) the conduct of the

Trojans towards Sinon contrasts with that of the Greeks towards Dolon. Ulysses and Diomedes encourage Dolon, and tell him not to think of death, on which ambiguous pledge he tells the whole truth ; they reward him by coolly cutting off his head, as the last word of his revelation passes his lips ; Sinon tells the Trojans a tissue of lies, and not only has his life spared, but is treated with kindness and hospitality.

(u) V. 79.—*Fortuna.....fiasit..... improba finget.* See note, En. ii. 552.

(v) V. 83.—*Falsâ sub proditiōne Pelasgi.* "*Falsâ sub proditiōne* ; h. e. *sub falso crimine proditiōnis* ;" Servius : followed by Heyne, and all the other commentators and translators. To this interpretation I object,

1st. That no authority has been adduced, to show that *proditiō* may be used for *crimen proditiōnis* ; the act committed, for the charge founded upon the commission of the act.

2ndly. That if Virgil had intended to say that the Pelasgi had condemned Palamedes, *on* or *by means of* a false charge of treason, he would more probably have used the words *falsâ proditiōne*, in the same manner as *infando indicio*, without a preposition ; or if he had used a preposition, it would have been *per*, not *sub*.

3rdly. That Virgil could scarcely have been guilty of the fade tautology, *falsâ, insentem*.

4thly. That this interpretation represents the whole Greek nation at Troy ("Pelasgi") as conspiring against Palamedes ; which is (a) contrary to all verisimilitude ; (b) deprives *infando*

(y) For this reference see next page.

Of treason, on infandous informations,  
To bloody death (because he forbade war,)

*indicio* of its force; because, if all were conspiring against Palamedes, it was of small consequence how "infandous" the information or informer was, or, indeed, whether there were any information or informer at all; and (c) contradicts the statement (v. 90), that it was through the machinations of Ulysses that Palamedes' condemnation was accomplished.

Rejecting, for all these reasons, the received interpretation, I render *falsâ sub proditiōne, during, or at the time of, a false or feigned treason*; i. e., when there was an alarm (whether of accidental or concerted origin it matters not,) of treason in the Grecian camp. The words being so interpreted, the meaning of the passage is, not that the Pelasgi brought a *false* charge of treason against Palamedes, and condemned him, although innocent; but that the Pelasgi condemned Palamedes on an infandous information, which, being brought against him at a time when there was an alarm of treason in the camp, was on that account the more readily credited. In support of this interpretation, I beg to observe,

1st. That it restores to *proditiō* its simple, grammatical signification.

2ndly. That the use of *sub* in the sense of *during, or at the time of*, is familiar to every scholar: thus *sub nocte*; *sub somno*; *sub profectiōne*; *sub adventu*, &c. Livy (xxvi, 16) has even joined *sub* to the close cognate of *proditiō*, *deditiō*, only putting *deditiō* in the accusative, because he wishes to express, not the *precise time*, but, *about the time of the deditiō*.

3rdly. That, this interpretation being adopted, *insens* is no longer a tautology of *falsâ*; the latter expressing only the falsehood of the general rumour of

treason, not of the particular charge brought against Palamedes.

4thly. That this interpretation represents the Pelasgi, not, unnaturally, in the triple character of conspirators, accusers, and judges, but, naturally, in the single character of judges, prevailed upon partly by the prevalent alarm of treason, and partly by the offence they had taken against Palamedes, *quia bella vetabat*, to give credit to an infandous information against him.

5thly. That a greater degree of verisimilitude is thus conferred on the words *nunc cassum lumine lugent*, because it is more probable that the Pelasgi would lament Palamedes, (as soon as experience had taught them the groundlessness of their dislike to him on account of his opposition to the war,) if they had themselves been deluded into convicting him, on an *infandum indicium*, than that they would, under any circumstances, lament him, if their hatred to him had been so great as to induce them to convict him on a charge, which they not only knew to be false, but of which they were themselves the concoctors.

(9) V. 83.—*Quem falsâ &c.* The word used here (*quem*, not *illum*) sufficiently shows that Sinon has not yet begun to give any new information to the Trojans, but is employed, as far as the word *neci*, in recalling to their recollection facts, with which he knew they were perfectly well acquainted ("incipit a veris." Servius). The words *nunc cassum lumine lugent* (see next note), are thrown in parenthetically between the exordium in which he thus reminds them of known facts, and the new information which he begins to convey at v. 86. *Illi me comitem &c.*

Hence a plain reason why Sinon does not specify the precise charge made

- (z) Guiltless demitted, and now, un-dayed, mourn; 100  
 Hither, of that Belide to be confrere,  
 Me, his blood-relative, a pauper sire,
- (a)(b) To arms, from earliest youth sent: while with unsheathed  
 Sceptre he florished, and mid counselled kings saw,  
 We too achieved some touch of name and honor; 105  
 But, victim to Ulysses' cozening malice,  
 (Known facts I tell,) from this supernal world
- (c) When he departed, I, with shattered fortunes,  
 My days in darkness and in sorrow dragged,  
 And chafed, indignant, o'er my guiltless friend's fall:  
 Nor kept my folly silence, but revenge,  
 If chance should favor, menaced, and to native  
 Argos victorious if I should return
- (d) Ever; and asperous hatred stirred with words.  
 Hence my first blight of ill; Ulysses hence 115

against Palamedes, his object being not to give a history of that individual, but merely to recall to the mind of the Trojans what they already knew respecting him.

(\*) V. 85.—*Nunc cassum lumine lugent.* They now (sciz. convinced by experience that it was unwise to have undertaken the war, see v. 108) lament the loss of the prudent counsellor, qui bella vetabat. But this is not the sole force of these words; they serve also to excite the Trojan sympathy, first and directly for Palamedes (not only innocent, but lamented even by his executioners); and, 2ndly and indirectly, for his friend and companion, Sinon, *afflictus* (see v. 92, and note) by his fall; like him, persecuted to the death by the same Ulysses; and (by implication,) like him innocent.

(a) V. 87.—*In arma.* "In arma: h.e.

*ad bellum.*" Heyne. I think the meaning is rather to the profession of arms; to seek a military fortune.

(b) V. 87.—*Primis ... ab annis.* See Note, En. ii, 128.

(c) V. 92.—*Afflictus.* *Afflictus*; not sorrowful, for that meaning is contained in *luctu*, in the same line; but dashed to the ground; beaten down from his prosperity, sciz. by the death of his friend and patron. It is used in this, its primitive sense, on the only other occasion on which Virgil has used the word, En. i, 452: also by Milton, *Par. Lost*, i, 186, *afflicted powers*; and ii, 166, *afflicting thunder*.

(d) V. 96.—*Et verbis odia aspera movi.* *Et* is epexegetic, and *verbis* the words in which *promisit se ultorem*; as if Virgil had written *et movi odia aspera verbis, quibus me promisi ultorem*; or *me promittens ultorem*.

To affright with charges new, amidst the crowd

To scatter words ambiguous, and, of privy

(e) Conscience, to seek war-weapons, ceased not, till

By aid of Calchas—but an ingrate tale

Why to no good revolve, or wherefore dally? 120

If ye esteem Achivi all alike,

And that bare word sufficient, to the pain

At once; 'twere Ithacus' wish, and by the Atridae

(f) Were bought at great price." Then indeed on fire,

We put him questions, and the causes seek, 125

(e) V. 99. — *Et quaerere conscius arma*. Wagner's interpretation of these words, sciz. that they are a poetical equivalent for "*quaerere conscios*," seems to me to be particularly unfortunate,

1st. Because Virgil was too good a painter of character, to represent the cautious, cunning, Ulysses as going about in search of a number of persons, to whom to communicate his designs against Sinon.

2ndly. Because the immediately preceding words, "*Criminibus terrere novis*, and *spargere voces*," describe Ulysses as proceeding against Sinon by methods, which not only did not require the privy of a number of persons, but were likely to be successful in proportion as their secret object was kept confined to Ulysses' own bosom.

3rdly. Because the extraordinary violence, which this interpretation puts upon the words, is not so much as attempted to be supported even by a single authority.

I therefore understand *et quaerere arma* to be epexegetic of the preceding sentence; and the *arms* (of offence and defence), which Ulysses sought (*quaerebat*) against Sinon, to be the *crimina nova*, and the *voces ambiguas*. This explanation accords both with Virgil's usual manner (see notes, En. i, 496;

ii, 18 and 51), and with the ordinary meaning of the terms *quaerere arma*. See En. xi, 229.

*Conscius*, therefore, is not conspiring with others, but simply, as En. ii, 267, *conscious*; sciz. of his own secret design, uncommunicated as yet even to Calchas.

(f) V. 105.—*Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas*. That this is the common hyperbaton, *ardemus scitari et quaerere causas*, for *ardentes scitamus et quaerimus causas*, is proved by the necessity which exists for some expression, not merely that they desired to question him but that they actually *did* question him. The received interpretation leaves the sense incomplete.

*Ardemus*. The force of the verb *ardere* is infinitely more intense than that of its English derivatives; which, having first lost their literal, have at last, as a consequence, almost wholly lost even their metaphorical sense. The Latin word, on the contrary, where it is not literal, is fully metaphorical. "*Tantum est flumen verborum, tam integrae sententiae, ut mihi non solum tu incendere judicem, sed ipse ardere videaris*." Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, c. 45. "*Tantâ iracundiâ incitatus est ut arderet*." Argum. ad Terent. Adelph.



Unskilled of crimes so great and art Pelasgian :

(g) He pursues, trembling ; and, with feigned breast, says :

“ Oft had the Danaï desired to flee,

And wearied leave Troy and this tedious battle ;

(h) And would they had ! Oft shut them in, the sea’s 130

Rough winter ; and their outset Auster frightened :

Nor least, of maple beam context when stood

Just now this horse completed, storm-clouds pealed

Over the whole sky. Suspense we despatch

To Phoebus’ oracle, Eurypylos ; 135

Who from the shrine reports these words of sorrow :—

‘ With blood of virgin slain the winds ye atoned,

To Ilian coast when first ye came, O Danaï ;

With blood win your return, and sacrifice

Of life Argolic.’ To the popular ear 140

When this voice reached, astounded were all spirits,

And a cold tremor through the inmost bones ran,

(i) Fate for whom ready ? whom Apollo calls ?

Here Ithacus into the assembled midst

Soothsaying Calchas drags, with rout and noise, 145

And the intendment asks, importunate,

Of that oracular forthshadowing ;

While the artsman’s cruel warpings, and my doom,

With dumb presentiment on-lookers read.

(g) V. 107. — *Prosequitur pavilans*, &c. See note, En. ii, 76.

(h) V. 110.—*Saepe illos aspera ponti Interclusit hiems, et terruit Auster euntes. Interclusit* operates only on *illos* ; *terrui* both on *illos* and *euntes*. *Interclusit illos*, shut them in, rendered it impossible for them even to attempt to go ; *terrui euntes*, terrified (deterred)

them when actually beginning to go. See Note, En. ii, 552.

(i) V. 121.—*Cui fata parent*. The meaning is not *cui illi parent fata*, because no suspicion of foul play had yet arisen ; but (as rightly interpreted by Heyne), “ *cui fata parent id, ut, ejus anima, litetur*.”

Twice five days he is silent ; close, refuses 150  
 That voice of his should any one denounce,  
 Or to death offer ; hardly at the last,  
 Compelled by Ithacus' great clamors, speaks out  
 As pre-concerted, and me points for the altar :  
 They all assent, and on one wretch devolve 155  
 The ruin, for himself which each had feared.

- (k) "The infandous day has come ; the rites are ready ;  
 The salted meal, the tiar that bound my temples ;  
 From death, I not deny, I snatched myself,  
 And burst my bonds. In oozy morass sedge 160  
 Hidden all night I lay, till they should sail,  
 If haply sail they would. And now no more  
 (l) Old fatherland I see, or the sweet children ;

(k) V. 132.—*Infanda*. See note second, En. ii, 3.

(l) V. 138.—*Nec dulces gnatos exoptatumque parentem*. The commentators have always found an insuperable difficulty in this passage. "How," say they, "is it possible to reconcile what Sinon here says, of having children at home, with what he formerly told us (v. 87), of his having been sent to the war, by his father, when a mere boy ?" In order to get rid of the difficulty, Heyne (who is followed by Wagner, Wunderlich, Forbiger, and Thiel) understands *primis ab annis* (v. 87) to mean *ab initio belli* ; but this interpretation is inadmissible,

1st. Because no authority whatever has been adduced in its support, while, on the contrary, there is the authority not only of Ovid, (*tu comes antiquus, tu primis junctus ab annis*, Ex. Ponto, 2, 5, 43), but of Virgil himself, against it (*primis et te miretur ab annis*. En. viii, 517).

2ndly. Because it deprives Sinon's story of its chief pathos ; a pathos so necessary to the attainment of his primary object, that of exciting such pity in the breasts of the Trojans as would induce them to spare his life, and, therefore, so necessary to the success of his plot.

3rdly. Because it takes away from Sinon his best excuse to the Trojans for having taken up arms against them, viz., that he had done so in pursuance of a child's duty of obedience to his parent.

4thly. Because Sinon's informing the Trojans, that he had been at the war from the beginning, could serve no other purpose than that of exasperating them the more against him.

How then is the difficulty to be got rid of ? I answer, simply by referring *gnatos* not to Sinon, but to *parentem*, and by translating the passage, not *my children and my parent*, but *the children and the parent*, meaning, *Sinon's*

Or him, the wretchedest longing of my heart,  
 Their and my parent, upon whom will fall  
 My punishment, whose miserable blood  
 My flight's enormity will expiate.  
 But by the Gods above, who see and judge  
 The right, I adjure thee ; by inviolate faith,

165

brothers and sisters, and his and their parent. All difficulty is thus removed, and Virgil's consistency vindicated.

There is a precisely similar use of *gnatum* En. iv, 605, where *gnatumque patremque* does not mean *my son and my father*, but *the son and the father*, h.e. *the son and his father*. So, also, En. vi, 116, *gnatique patrisque* ; the son and the father, the son being the speaker himself. Also, En. viii, 308, *rex.....Eneam.....gnatumque tenebat*—The King kept Eneas and the son, meaning, not his own son, but Eneas's son. See, also, En. ii, 663. Numerous other instances also might be adduced, in which *gnatus* is thus referred not to the speaker, but to its correlative *parens*, or *pater*, or *mater*, expressed. I am aware that it has, on a similar occasion, been suggested by Forbiger (note to v. 178), "*Virgilium hanc fictam Sinonis narrationem consulto ita composuisse, ut homo iste sibi ipse contradiceret, aut ambigua et obscura proferret*;" but this is a suggestion from which I must wholly dissent, because it is evident that in proportion as Virgil made the story obscure, or inconsistent with itself, it was the less likely to obtain credence with the Trojans; to which if it be replied, that Virgil, as *Poeta*, had it in his power to represent the Trojans as crediting whatever story he thought proper, I answer, that to represent the Trojans so void of acumen as to credit an unlikely, ambiguous, and, above all, a contradictory story, is to diminish our respect for, and sympathy with, not only the Trojans, but Eneas himself,

and thus to contradict the whole scope and design of the poem. And further, I think that the more carefully the story is examined, the more evident does it appear, that Virgil has taken the greatest and most successful pains to fabricate a story for Sinon, which is so consistent with itself, and so extremely like the truth, that it was hardly possible for the Trojans not to be deceived by it.

With the strictest observance of the well-known fact, that a scene (whether of things or persons), from which we have been long absent, presents itself to our minds exactly as we were accustomed to see it, and not as it exists now, changed by the time which has since elapsed, Virgil represents the picture present in Sinon's mind, to be that of the children, children as he left them so many years ago, and not that of the children now grown up to be adults.

As a further argument in favor of the above interpretation, I may observe, that it relieves the passage from the manifest awkwardness of the non-mention of Sinon's wife, or of his ever having been married. In the parallel passage, quoted by Ursini (*Virg. collat. cum Græcis scriptoribus*), from Lucretius, in which *gnati* has the meaning attempted to be fixed on it in the passage before us, there is no such awkwardness, mention being made of the wife along with the children—

*Nam jam non domus accipiet læta, neque uxor  
 Optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula gnati  
 Præripere, et tacitâ pectus dulcedine tangant.*  
*Lucr. iii, 907.*

If upon earth inviolate faith yet dwell, 170  
 Pity my sorrow's misery ; a mind  
 Pity, enduring ills unmerited."

' We grant his tears his life, and from our hearts  
 Pity : and Priam first, his tight hand-gyves  
 Bidding to loose, in amity thus speaks :— 175  
 " Whoe'er thou art, forget henceforth the lost Greeks  
 (m) (Thou shalt be ours), and answer truly why  
 Built this steed's bulk immane ? the adviser who ?  
 The aim ? religious, or machine of war ?"  
 Instruct with wiles, the wretch, and art Pelasgian, 180  
 His chain-loosed palms toward heaven uplift, and cried :—  
 " Ye fires eternal, witness, and your godhead  
 Inviolable ; ye infandous altars  
 And knives which I have scaped ; ye too, which bound  
 My victim-brows, god-fillets, witness ye, 185  
 Crimeless I break the sacred Graian sanctions ;  
 Crimeless the Greek hate, to the winds his secrets  
 Publish, and of my country's laws absolved stand :  
 Only be stedfast to thy promise, Troy,  
 And me thy saviour save, if sooth my words, 190  
 And if with ample guerdon I repay.

" Ever in Pallas' aid the Danaï  
 Placed their whole hope ; in her their confidence  
 Still dwelt of happy issue to this war ;

(m) V. 149.—*Mihique hæc edissere.* *Que* connects *edissere*, not to its unlike, *obliviscere*, *edissere*. Instead, therefore, of the semicolon, which all the editors have placed at *Graios*, there should be only a comma.

But from what time blasphemous Diomede, 195  
 And Ithacus, excogitator still  
 Of villainies, emprising from devote fane  
 To tear the weird Palladium, slew the guards  
 Of the upmost citadel, and carried off  
 The sacred image, nor with bloody hands 200  
 Not dared to touch the goddess' virgin tiar,  
 (\*) Thawed from that day and backward lapsed the firm  
 Hope of the Danaï; broken their strength;  
 Averse the Goddess' mind; nor by portents  
 Doubtful, Tritonia to that import spake; 205  
 Scarce placed in camp the image, when its stared eyes  
 Kindled with bickering flame, its limbs salt sweat  
 Trickled, and thrice (miraculous!) she sprang  
 Up from the ground with targe and trembling spear.  
 Instant with homeward flight to attempt the sea 210  
 Calchas vaticinates; nor Pergamus  
 To be excinded by Argolic arms,  
 Until, at Argos auspices again  
 Taking, they win again the Goddess' grace  
 That erst to Troy in their curved keels they bore. 215  
 And now that they have sought with favoring winds  
 Mycenae's coasts paternal, armaments  
 They raise, and Gods ally, with whom to Troy  
 The sea remeasuring, they are here anon,  
 Least hoped: the omens so Calchas dispones. 220  
 This effigy, the crime to expiate

(n) V. 169.—*Fluere ac retro sublapsa referri*. *Fluere*, to flow (sciz. in the sense of losing consistence, not in that of changing place), to become fluid; the change of place being expressed by *sublapsa referri*. So, *Fluit ignibus aurum*. Ovid, Met. ii, 251; and metaphorically, *Quâ liquescimus fluiusque mollitiâ*. Cic. Tusc. ii, 22.

Of reft Palladium, and the Deity  
 Offended to atone, monished they build,  
 And, of strong wood context, its lügeness rear  
 High towering to the sky ; Calchas' command, 225  
 Lest peradventure, smaller, through your gates  
 Indrawn, it might the old religious weird  
 Fulfil, and stand your nation's tutelar.  
 Contrariwise, if to Minerva's gift  
 Your hands did violence, swift ruin then 230  
 (On the false prophet's head his prophecy  
 Fling back, ye Gods!) swift ruin then should overwhelm  
 The reign of Priam and the Phrygian race ;  
 But, by your own hands drawn, did it ascend  
 Into your city, then with proffered war 235  
 Mighty to Pelops' walls would Asia come :  
 So hung, he said, the fates of our sons' sons."

' By these foul glozings, and the perjured art  
 Of Sinon, the device is credited ;  
 And those captived by cunning and forced tears, 240  
 Whom not Tydides, nor Larissa's chief,  
 Nor ten long years, nor thousand keels could quell.'

(o) ' Greater and much more terrible, another  
 Object presents here, and confounds our breasts'

(o) V. 199.—*Hic aliud &c.* This prodigy is not merely *ominous*, but like them, crosses the tranquil deep ; (which I believe has not been observed by any commentator,) *typical*, of the destruction about to come upon Troy. like them, lands ; and, going up straight (probably over the very same ground,) to the city, slaughters the surprised and unresisting Trojans, The twin serpents prefigure the surprised and unresisting Trojans, (prefigured by Laocoon's sons,) and comes from Tenedos, (where, as must overturns the religion and drives out the Gods, (prefigured by the priest not be forgotten, it is lying concealed

(p) Improvidence : Laocoon, Neptune's priest 243

Lot-drawn, huge bull was offering at wont altar,

When, the still depths across, from Tenedos,

(q) Lo ! twin (I shudder to relate,) immense-

Orbed serpents on the sea incumb, and steer

(r) Side by side shoreward ; whose arrected breasts 250

Amid the waves, and bloody combs o'ertop

The undulant ; their hinder part the sea

Floats, and immense dorse wreaths voluminous ;

(s)(t) The brine foams audible : and now the plain

Laocoon). Even in the most minute particulars the type is perfect : the serpents come abreast toward the shore, like ships sailing together ; (*Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat.....Litorea.....petens ;*) with flaming eyes raised above the waves, by the whole length of the neck and breast, (*flammas quum regia puppis Extulerat*) ; and with the hinder part floating and curling along on the surface of the water, (*the hinder vessels of the fleet following the lead of the foremost*) ; and, when their work is done (*the Trojans slaughtered, or, with their Gods, driven out of the city*), take possession of the citadel, under the protection of Pallas, (*Jam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas Insedit, &c.*)

(p) V. 200. — *Improvida*. “Quae tale quid non praeviderant.” Heyne ; “Ueberraschte.” Weickert. The correctness of this interpretation (and the incorrectness of Wagner’s “Trojanos credulos, et a Graecorum dolo sibi non caventes”), placed almost beyond doubt by Weickert’s own argument, is confirmed by the word *novus*, v. 228.

(q) V. 204. — *Horresco referens*. This

interjection is not placed indifferently, any where in the middle of the sentence, but in its most natural and effective position, after the words, *gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta*, excitatory of expectation ; and immediately before *immensis orbibus angues*, expressive of the actual horrid object. The weaker effect which it would have had, if placed at a greater distance before *immensis orbibus angues*, is shown by Dryden’s translation—

When, dreadful to behold, from sea we spied  
Two serpents, ranked abreast, the seas divide.

And the still weaker, which it would have had, if placed after, by Surrey’s—  
From Tenedon behold in circles great  
By the calm seas come fleeting, adders twain ;  
Which piled towards the shore (I loathe to tell)  
With reared breast lift up above the seas.

(r) V. 206. — *Pectora quorum &c.*

Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,  
With head uplift above the wave, and eyes  
That sparkling blazed ; his other parts besides  
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,  
Lay floating many a rood, &c.

*Par. Lost*, i, 192.

(s) V. 209. — *Fit sonitus spumante salo*. The translators, who represent the sound made by the foaming of the brine to have been *loud*, err doubly ; 1st, in not understanding that *sonitus*,

(t) For this reference see next page.

They have reached, their glaring eyes with blood suffused,  
 And fire; and licking with vibrating tongues  
 Their hissing jaws: exsanguious at the sight  
 We fly diverse; they with direct march seek  
 (u) Laocoon; and first the bodies small

without an adjunct expressive of *loudness*, is not a *loud sound* but simply a *sound* (see ii, 732; Georg. iv, 79; &c.); and 2ndly, in not perceiving that propriety of description requires that the *sound of foam* should not be represented as *loud*. Dryden, as usual, errs most—

Their speckled tails advance to steer their course,  
 And on the sounding shore the flying billows  
 force.

I know but one translated passage (not Dryden's own), which can at all vie with this in incorrectness; it is where Pope, instead of describing Jupiter as *seizing Ate by the shining-curved head*, in order to fling her from heaven, describes him as *snatching her from the top of his own head*—

From his ambrosial head, where perched she  
 sate,

He snatched the Fury-Goddess of debate.

Pope's *Iliad*, xix, 125.

(t) V. 209.—*Arva*. There is no occasion to suppose, with Heyne, that *arva* is used "*pro littore*," because, interpreted literally, it affords a better meaning, viz., *the fields*, or *cultivated plain inside the beach*, where it is probable the *solennis ara* stood, at such a distance from the actual shore as to be in no danger from the violence of the sea during stormy weather.

(u) V. 213.....216.—*Primum.....Post*. There is a most material discrepancy between the account given by Virgil, and the view presented by the sculptor, of the death of Laocoon and his two sons. According to the former, the serpents *first (primum)* kill the two sons, and *afterwards (post)* seize (*corruptum*) the father, *subeuntem ac tela ferentem*,

and kill him also; while, according to the latter, the serpents are twined about and kill the father and the two sons *simultaneously*. Virgil's is the more natural and probable account,

1st. Because the children were likely to be at some distance from their parent, he being at the moment engaged in the duties of his office;

And, 2ndly. Because it was more easy for the serpents to conquer Laocoon's powerful strength (see ii, 50) with the whole of their united force and folds, than with such part only of their force and folds as was not employed upon the sons. There is even some difficulty in understanding (nor does an examination of the sculpture tend much to diminish the difficulty,) how two serpents, already twined about, and encumbered with, the bodies of two persons, even although those bodies were small (*parva*,) could seize, and squeeze to death, a third person, possessed of more than ordinary strength, and armed.

The sculptor, if he had had the choice, would doubtless, no less than the poet, have represented the killing of Laocoon to have been subsequent to the killing of the sons; but his art failed him; sculpture could not represent *successive acts*; the chisel could fix no more than a single instant of fleeting time: driven, therefore, by necessity, he places the three persons simultaneously in the folds of the serpents, and his (so much admired) group becomes, in consequence, complicated and almost incomprehensible, and appears in the most disadvan-



- Of his two sons each serpent in embrace 260  
 Folds; and upon their miserable limbs  
 Feeds biting; then himself with aid up-coming,  
 (x) And bringing weapons, seize, and bind with huge spires;  
 And now his middle twice embracing, twice  
 With scaly backs his jugular surrounding, 265  
 O'ertop him with their heads and lofty necks:  
 He simultaneous with his hands to tear  
 The knots asunder aims (his tiar bespewed  
 With sanies and black venom); simultaneous  
 (y) Lifts to the stars shouts horrible, like bellowings 270  
 Of wounded bull that from the altar flees,  
 And the uncertain axe hath from his neck shook.  
 But the twin dragons, gliding, to the high  
 Temple escape, and seek the citadel  
 Of stern Tritonia, and behind the feet 275  
 And shield-orb of the Goddess, lie ensconced.

tageous contrast with the simple and natural narrative of Virgil.

Such is the infinite inferiority of sculpture (and of painting) to poetry. The sculptor (or painter) labors day and night, and for years together, on one object, and, in the end, his work, representing but an instant of time, fails to present to the mind as many ideas as the poet supplies in half a dozen lines, the work perhaps of half an hour.

(x) V. 217.—*Spiris*. *Spirae* are not merely coils, but *spiral coils*; tending upwards, like those of a corkscrew held point-upward. See Georg. ii, 153, 154; where Virgil informs us, almost in express terms, that a snake is in *orbs* (*orbes*), while coiled upon the ground, but in *spires* (*spirae*), when he raises himself with a motion twisting upwards. The same distinc-

tion is observable in the passage before us, where the serpents are said to be in *orbs* while on the water, and in *spires* when folded round Laocoon. A right understanding of this word is the more necessary, because it is the only word in the description, except *superant capite et cervicibus altis*, which shows that the poet so far agrees with the sculptor, as to represent Laocoon and the serpents twined about him as forming an erect group.

(y) V. 223.—*Quales mugitus, &c.*

Qual' è quel toro che si slaccia in quella  
 Ch' ha ricevuto già 'l colpo mortale,  
 Che gir non sa, ma qua e là saltella,  
 Vid' io lo Minotauro far cotale;

*Dante. Inferno, xii, 22.*

Non altrimenti il toro va saltando  
 Qualora il mortal colpo ha ricevuto,  
 E dentro la foresta alto mugghiando  
 Ricerca il cacciator che l' ha feruto.  
*Boccaccio, in Filostrato.*

'Thrills then, indeed, through every quaking breast  
 New panic; and, just penalty, they say,  
 Laocoon of his crime paid, who with point  
 Of villain spear against the dorse hurled, harmed 280  
 The sacred wood: the image, with one voice  
 All cry, must to the Goddess' seat be drawn,  
 The deity exored: we breach the walls,  
 Lay wide the city ramparts; to the work  
 All gird, and underneath the feet the glide 285

(z)(a) Of wheels set; to the neck bands hempen stretch:

The fatal gin, arms-pregnant, scales the walls;  
 Boys and unwedded damsels hymns chaunt round,  
 And joy to touch the rope: it enters in,  
 And through the city's midst glides, menacing. 290  
 My country! Ilium, Gods' dome! war-renowned  
 Strong-hold of the Dardanidae! four times

(b) In the port-threshold self it stopped; four times

(\*) V. 236.—*Vincula collo Intendunt*. Heyne, Forbiger, and Thiel inform us, without doubt or hesitation, that *intendunt* is here elegantly used ("exquisitius"), in place of *illigant*, *innectunt*; and this meaning has been adopted by all the translators, as well as by Forcellini in his Dictionary. I dissent, however, on two grounds; 1st, Because there is not only no instance of *intendere* being used in this sense, but no instance of its being used in any sense bordering on, or at all related to, this sense. And, 2ndly. Because the strict interpretation of *intendunt* (sciz. *stretch* or *extend*,) affords an unobjectionable meaning of the passage; *they extend ropes to the neck*; prosaically, *throw ropes over the neck*. This meaning is not only unobjectionable in itself, but preferable to the

former, inasmuch as it was easier to throw a rope over the neck, than to tie or fasten it at so great a height.

The idea of *stretching*, or *extension*, will, I think, be found to enter into all the significations, whether literal or metaphorical, of *intendere*.

(a) V. 236.—*Collo*. "In collo noli argutare; cum fune ex eo nexu trahi equus vix commode posset, intellige simpl. funem ex anteriore parte aptum." Heyne; who seems not to have perceived how useful the rope round the neck would be, not alone for steadying and preventing the horse from toppling over to one side, but for drawing it up into the city, sciz. over the broken down fortifications; *Scandit muros*, v. 237.

(b) V. 242.—*Ipsa in limine portae*. Our author having expressly informed

Arms in the womb clanged ; heedless, we press on,

And fury-blinded ; and the ominous

295

Monster establish in the citadel's

(c) Sanctity. Then Cassandra too, her lips

us, (v. 234,) that the walls were *divided* for the admission of the horse, *porta* must be, not the *gate of the city*, but the *opening or entrance made by the division of the walls*. For a similar application of the word *porta* see *Qua data porta*. En. i, 83. Those commentators who understand *porta* to mean the *gate of the city*, are reduced to the forlorn extremity of construing *dividimus muros*, not *divide the walls*, but *enlarge the opening of the gate*; and of understanding *Scandit muros* to be no more than a poetical form of expression for *entering the gate*. "Scandit muros, h. e. transcendit; major imago, quam si portam intrat, quae, murorum impositorum et attingentium parte dejectâ, erat latior facta." Heyne.

(c) V. 247.—*Ora, dei jussu non unquam credita Teucris*. That *credita* is predicated, not of Cassandra, but of *ora*, is proved, not only by the stronger poetical sense of the passage so interpreted, but by the emphatic position of *ora*, closing the sentence to which it belongs, and at the same time beginning a new line.

I do not know whether it has been observed by any commentator, but I think that a very slight examination of Virgil's style is sufficient to show, that his emphatic words are almost invariably placed at, or as near to as possible, the beginning of the line; that where an increase of emphasis is required, the emphatic word is separated from the immediately succeeding context by a pause in the sense, which allows the mind of the reader, or voice of the reciter, to dwell on the word with a longer emphasis; that, where the word is required to be still more emphatic,

it is not only placed at the beginning of the line, and separated from the succeeding context by a pause, but is made to stand at the end of its own sentence, and at the greatest possible distance from the words in that sentence to which it is most immediately related, as *ora* in the passage before us; *Jukus*, i, 268; *Phoenissa*, i, 714; *Cru-delis*, iv, 311; and that when a maximum of emphasis is required, the word thus placed emphatically at the beginning of the line, and with a pause immediately following, is a repetition or reduplication of a word which has already been used in the preceding sentence, as *Lumina*, ii, 406: and I believe it will still further be found, that, whenever it is possible, not only the reduplicated word, but its original also, is placed in the emphatic position at the beginning of the line; thus *Nate, nate*, En. i, 664, 665; *Me, me*, iv, 351, 354; *Nos, nos*, Bucol. i, 3 and 4.

In confirmation of the above opinion, that the beginning of the line is, in Virgil's writings, the seat of the emphasis, I may observe that the nominative pronouns (which it is well known are, in Latin, never expressed unless they are emphatic), are, with few or no exceptions, found at the beginning of lines.

From these principles may be derived a double argument in favor of the authenticity of the four disputed lines at the commencement of the Eneis; 1st. That the emphatic pronouns *ille ego* are, according to Virgil's custom, placed in the emphatic position at the commencement of the line; and 2ndly. That the words *arma virumque* are

(Ever, so willed the God, discredited  
 By Teucrians,) opens with the Fates' near future :  
 We (wretches, whose that last day,) the Gods' fanes  
 (d) Throughout the city veil with festal frond.

'Round rolls the sphere meantime ; and, rushing forth,  
 Night, from Oceanus, in mighty shade  
 Wraps earth and sky and Myrmidonian wiles :  
 Sparsed through the fortified city, Teucrians lie 305  
 Hush, in the close embrace of weary sleep :  
 And now from Tenedos the Argive phalanx  
 Equipped was sailing, (high when royal poop  
 (e) The flame had hoisted,) and beneath the tacit  
 Moon's friendly silence sought the acquainted shore.  
 Then, by the Gods' unjust fates shielded, Sinon

considerably more emphatic towards the close of the sentence, and in connexion with *at nunc horrentia Martis*, (and, I may add, contrasted, *cano* with *modulatus*, *arma* with *silvis* and *arva*, and *virum* with *colono*,) than without connexion and contrast, and contrary to Virgil's habitual *molle atque facetum*, abruptly at the commencement of the sentence and poem.

Having been thus led to speak incidentally of the four introductory lines of the Eneis, I shall perhaps be excused if I add, that I entirely dissent from the judgment pronounced on those lines by some of Virgil's most *unpoetical* poetical commentators, and especially by Dryden ; and that I regard those lines, (to write which Virgil seems to have taken up the very pen, which he had laid down after writing the last eight lines of the last Georgic,) as not only worthy of Virgil, but as affording, (especially in the fine poetical figure, *vicina coegi*,) the most abundant evi-

dence that they were written by no other hand. See note, En. i, l.

(d) V. 249.—*Festâ velamus fronde. Velamus* (very imperfectly rendered by Thiel, *ornamus* ; by Surrey, *deck* ;) means to *veil*, i. e. to cover in such a manner, or to such an extent, as to hide from view, and thus denotes the profusion of green boughs used.

(e) V. 256.—*Flammas quum regia puppis Extulerat. Effero* being the verb, employed in Roman military tactics, (see Liv. x, 19 ; xl, 28 ;) to express the raising of the standard, and the carrying it forward out of the camp against the enemy, there can, I think, be little doubt that there is here a tacit comparison of the personified *regia puppis*, raising its signal flame, and followed by the *Argiva phalanx instructis navibus*, to the standard-bearer of an army, raising the standard, and followed by the soldiers to battle.

- (f) The enwombed Danaï and piny shutter  
 Stealthily looses; them the horse, disclosed,  
 Refunds to air; and from the strong wood's hollow  
 Joyful the dukes Thessander, Sthenelus, 315  
 And dire Ulysses, issue; the demitted  
 Rope gliding down; and Athamas and Thoas,  
 And Peleus' grandson Neoptolemus,
- (g) Machaon (foremost leader), Menelaus,  
 And he, the artist of the stratagem, 320  
 Epeus: on the city, buried deep  
 In sleep and wine, they rush; the sentinels  
 Cut down; and, through the wide-thrown gates, admitting
- (h) Their compeers all, join conscious bands with bands.
- (i) 'It was the hour when earliest sleep begins 325  
 To care-sick man, and by the Gods' gift creeps  
 Gratefullest: in my dreams, behold! appeared  
 Hector, all woe-begone, before mine eyes

(f) V. 259.—*Claustra*. *Clastrum*; that by which any thing is shut either in or out; a shutter; a barrier: it is, therefore, applied to the movable pieces, (of whatever material,) which closed the vents of Eolus's cave, En. i, 56; (see note En. ii, 81;) to the high lands on each side, which appeared to close in the straights of Pelorus, En. iii, 411; to the valve or valves of a door or gate, by which, sciz. the passage is closed, En. ii, 491; to mountains, closing or barring the passage from one country into another, Tacit. Hist. iii, 2; and therefore metaphorically to the barriers, which the laws oppose to the commission of crime, Quint. xiii, 10; which nature opposes to the investigation of her secrets, Lucret. i, 71, &c. *Clastrum* never has any other mean-

ing; not even in the very passages quoted by Forcellini, that prince of laborious and obtuse lexicographers, to prove that its primary meaning is "*repagulum quo janua clauditur*."

(g) V. 263.—*Primusque Machaon*. I am decided by the exactly corresponding passage, *primusque Thymœtes*, ii, 32, to understand (with Heyne), *primus* to mean here *first in order*, notwithstanding the authority of Aurelius Victor to the contrary, and the doubt of Wagner, Quest. Virg. xxviii, 5.

(h) V. 267.—*Conscia*. See note, ii, 99.

(i) V. 268.—*Tempus erat*, &c.

It was the time when rest, soft sliding down  
 From heaven's height into men's heavy eyes  
 In the forgetfulness of sleep doth drown  
 The careful thoughts of mortal miseries.

*Spenser, Visions of Belshazzar*, l.

(k)(l) To stand, and pour large wailings; biga-rapt,  
As erst, and black with bloody dust; the thongs 330

(k) V. 272.—*Raptatus bigis*, &c. The construction is, *Moestissimus Hector, Raptatus bigis (ut quondam), aterque cruento Pulvere, perque pedes tractatus lora tumentes, Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus*. The strength and beauty of this passage, consisting mainly in the positiveness of the predication, *raptatus bigis*, is wholly lost by those who adopt the interpretation of Wagner, *Visus est adesse mihi talis qualis erat quum raptatus esset*; which has the effect of throwing the emphasis off the principal words, *raptatus bigis*, and placing it upon *ut quondam*, words which are quite unessential, and introduced solely for the purpose of explaining to Eneas's hearers (and Virgil's readers,) that the condition expressed by *raptatus bigis*, (viz., *that of having been recently rapt by a biga*,) exactly resembled the condition in which Eneas had formerly seen Hector, shortly after he had been rapt by the *biga* of Achilles. Or, (to make my meaning still clearer,) Eneas, during his dream, sees Hector *raptatus bigis*, (*presenting the appearance of having been rapt by a biga*,) *aterque cruento* &c., but makes no comparison of that appearance with Hector's real appearance after he had been dragged round the walls of Troy, until he comes to relate his dream; then, as his hearers might not perfectly understand what appearance he meant by *raptatus bigis*, he explains his meaning by a reference, (contained in the words *ut quondam*,) to the well-known appearance which Hector had formerly presented, after he had been dragged at Achilles' chariot-wheels. The comma, therefore, placed after *bigis*, by the more correct judgment of some previous editor, and removed by Heyne, should be replaced.

I need scarcely point out to the reader, that the words *ut quondam*, although intended only to illustrate the

meaning of *raptatus bigis*, present us also with a natural and philosophical explanation, why Eneas, in his dream, saw Hector, quasi *raptatus bigis*; sciz. because of the strong impression made upon his mind by the sight of Hector, shortly after he had been actually dragged by the *biga* of Achilles.

(l) V. 272.—*Bigis*. The Latin word *biga* not having any corresponding term in English, I was under the absolute necessity, either to follow the example of preceding translators, who, rendering *biga* simply a *chariot*, present their readers with Virgil's meaning curtailed of one half its fair proportion; or to use either the Latin term itself, or its most uncouth and unpoetical periphrasis, a *chariot drawn by two horses*. I was not slow to decide, 1st, that at all hazards Virgil's meaning, (in this as in all other places,) should be preserved in its integrity; and, 2ndly, that it was better to use the Latin word itself, (already adopted into the Italian language,) even although (without this explanation,) it must be unintelligible to some of my readers, than, by the use of the periphrasis, entirely destroy the poetry of the passage to all. For similar reasons I have in the course of the work, transferred, (with little or no alteration in the terminations,) several other Latin words from the original to my translation, as, for instance, *Eneadae, bireme, Iliades, mamma, palle, lustra, amaracus, pepulum*. Before the reader condemns me on this account, I beg that he will do me the justice to observe, in the several passages, the effect of the introduction of Virgil's own word into the translation, as compared with the effect produced by the substitution for it, of an English word either inadequately expressing, (as in some of the existing translations,) or wholly misrepresenting (as in others,) the meaning of the

(<sup>m</sup>) In his swollen feet ; ah me, what spectacle !

How from that Hector changed, who in the spoils

author. Besides these Latin words, I have occasionally made use of some old English words, rarely, if ever, found in modern writings ; with respect to which I beg to observe, once for all, that I have never used such words, except when they seemed to me to express Virgil's meaning more exactly, or to suit my rhythm better, than any modern words, and that I have avoided the practice, although sanctioned by the example of Spenser, Beattie, Thomson, Byron, and others, of preferring ancient words to modern, merely because their antiquity bestowed upon them a certain degree of quaintness. I shall also, perhaps, be excused if I venture here to utter an opinion, that it is absolutely impossible to express in English rhythm, the innumerable and ever-varying shades of Virgil's thought, without the help of a vocabulary much more varied and extensive than that ordinarily used, even by good authors ; and that the reason why all existing translations of the *Eneis* present, in the opinion of competent judges, so faithless, and I may truly say, so deformed likenesses of that beautiful and noble work, is perhaps less that the translators continually mistake the meaning of the author, than that their limited, and (if I may so say without offence to more than one great name in English poetry,) very common-place vocabulary is inadequate to convey that meaning to a third person, even in those instances in which it has been correctly made out and understood by the translators themselves.

It will, perhaps, occur to the reader, that there is, in this translation, something more which requires apologetic observation, than the mere occasional introduction of antiquated English, or

newly-derived Latin, words : the style has no doubt appeared to him unusual, even unprecedented ; perhaps stiff and constrained. Of these qualities the former is not necessarily a fault ; the latter arises partly from the former, (and in so far is rather apparent than real, and will, like the formality of a stranger's manner, disappear upon acquaintance) ; and partly from a source common to it and the former, and of which I shall take this opportunity to say a few words. My object was, to represent Virgil's meaning faithfully, without addition or diminution ; to make a *bona fide* translation, or transference of his thoughts, from the Latin hexameter into the English iambic, a translation in which there should be nothing of my own and every thing of Virgil's. *But neither the languages nor the rhythms talked.* Other translators met the difficulty by altering Virgil, so as to make him suit their language and rhythm ; either (*a*) substituting their own thought in place of Virgil's ; or (*b*) varying or modifying his thought ; or (*c*) adding to it ; or (*d*) taking from it ; or (*e*) omitting it altogether. By these means they frequently (not always,) succeeded in rendering their lines abundantly fluent, round, and sonorous, but alas ! never, even so much as in a single instance, reflected the image of Virgil's thought ; the whole result being the production of a number of English poems, of more or less merit, but not one representative of Virgil. I have adopted therefore precisely the reverse principle, and proposed to myself, not the easy, and frequently performed, task of adapting Virgil to the English language and rhythm, but the difficult and never before attempted one, of adapting

(<sup>m</sup>) For this reference see page 86.

Returns clad of Achilles, or hath hurled  
High upon Grecian poops our Phrygian brands ;

the English language and rhythm to Virgil. The result arrived at is, of course, precisely the reverse ; Virgil's meaning is presented fully and faithfully, without addition or diminution, but my lines have, as many will think, somewhat of a stiff or foreign air ; do not abound in those cadences, and turns of expression, with which the English ear and mind are familiar, and which are generally considered, I will not say by the best judges, but which are very generally considered, as essential requisites, nay the essence itself, of poetry. I shall illustrate my meaning by a single example.

Virgil (En. i, 283,) writes thus, *In the lapse of lustra, an era shall arrive, when the house of Assaracus will oppress Phthia and illustrious Mycenae with servitude, and dominate over conquered Argos.* In putting this sentence into English rhythm, some difficulty arises from the number of proper names, better suited to Latin hexameter than to English iambic. How have the translators met this difficulty? Dryden, by entirely omitting the proper names, (in which the main strength of the thought lies,) and substituting, in place of the Virgilian thought, a sort of commentary of his own ;

An age is ripening in revolving fate,  
When Troy shall overturn the Grecian state ;  
And sweet revenge her conquering sons shall call  
To crush the people that conspired her fall.

Phaer, also omitting the proper names, disposes of the passage in nine words, whose only title to be considered a translation of Virgil's thought, is that one of them is the word, *time* ;

Let time roll on, and set forth their renowne.

[Phaer's *Aeneados* (copies of which cannot now be procured without difficulty,) was written, the author himself informs us, in two hundred and fifty days ; and, as may be inferred from that single fact, is wholly devoid of

merit, and serves only, (a) to prove that English rhyming poetry was pretty much the same slip-slop three hundred years ago as it is now ; and (b) as a foil to set off blank verse, the first specimen of which had appeared only a few years previously, in the best translation of Virgil ever written ; that of the second and fourth books of the *Eneis*, by the unfortunate Earl of Surrey.]

Beresford, on the other hand, whose almost unknown translation is, in some respects, very superior to most of those which are in the hands of the public, encounters the difficulty by the opposite method, that of addition ; and succeeds in expressing the essence of Virgil's thought, but not without the damaging aid of the explanatory "*Sons of Rome*," and the miserable eke of the common-place expletives *race, old, derived, walls, galling* ;

In course of gliding years,  
Shall rise an era when the sons of Rome  
In race from old Assaracus derived,  
Shall Phthia, conquered Argos, and renowned  
Mycenae's walls in galling slavery hold.

Pitt, following the example of Pope in his mellifluous paraphrase (*soi-disant* translation) of Homer, unites both methods ; adds and subtracts, varies and substitutes, until he has utterly falsified the record of which he professes to be the interpreter, and attained an *almost perfect euphony*, by setting up Assaracus's sons "*reigning in Greece*," laying Mycenae "*in the dust*," putting "*an hour upon the wing*," (whether to arrive or depart he does not say,) and throwing overboard the essential thoughts *lustra*, and *Phthia* ; and with the latter the implied Trojan retaliation on Achilles for the death of Hector ;

An hour shall wing its way,  
When Troy in dust shall proud Mycenae lay,  
In Greece Assaracus his sons shall reign,  
And vanquished Argos wear the victor's chain.

If my translation be found to ex-



Squalid his beard ; concrete with blood his locks ; 335  
And bearing, round his native walls received,

press the meaning of the passage fully and faithfully, without the aid of expetives, and without the omission or modification of any, even the least essential, part of the thought, I shall, perhaps, stand excused in the eyes of some of my readers for having pressed into my service the almost Latin word *lustra*, and the somewhat unusual adjective *discomfite*. If, however, there be, as I doubt not there will be, a great majority who deem such apology insufficient, and will admit no excuse for the absence from my lines, of the often round and sonorous cadences of Dryden, and the mellow smoothness of Pitt, I take leave of such readers with the best good-wishes, and without further attempt to dispel the agreeable illusion, that, while reading Pitt's or Dryden's Eneis, they are reading poetry, and holding converse with Virgil. See note, En. ii, 475.

(m) V. 273.—*Tumentes*. Dead limbs do not swell in consequence of violence; either, therefore, Virgil means, that the swelling of Hector's feet was the result of putrefaction; or he applies the adjunct *tumentes* in ignorance of the physiological truth; or aware of the truth, falsely, for the sake of effect; or, else, he means that both the swelling, and the violence which produced it, were anterior to death.

It is highly improbable that he means that the swelling was the consequence of putrefaction; because, although he might not have felt himself bound by the authority of Homer, who expressly states (*Iliad*, xxiii, xxiv;) that Apollo prevented putrefaction from taking place in the corpse of Hector, yet no poetical advantage was to be gained by suggesting the idea of putrefaction, inasmuch as that idea was not only revolting in itself, but, by removing our thought so much the

further from the living, sentient Hector, directly tended to diminish that sympathy with him, which it was the sole object of the description to excite.

It is still less likely that Virgil, aware of the physiological truth, applied the term falsely, for the sake of effect; the unworthy supposition is contradicted by every thing which is known, or has ever been heard, of Virgil.

The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable, either that Virgil applied the term *tumentes* in ignorance of the physiological truth, that violence inflicted on dead limbs will not cause them to swell; or that the non-Homeric narrative (see Heyne, *Excurs.* xviii, ad En. i), which he certainly must have followed, when describing Hector as having been dragged round the walls of Troy, (and not, as in the *Iliad*, from Troy to the Grecian tents, and round the tomb of Patroclus,) represented Achilles as having bored Hector's feet, and dragged him after his chariot *before he was yet dead*. Nor let the reader, living in times when man has some bowels of compassion for brother man, reject with horror the imputation to Achilles of so atrocious cruelty: let him rather call to mind the boring of the feet of Oedipus, of the feet and hands of malefactors on the cross, the slitting of noses and cropping of ears, the burnings at the stake, and breakings on the wheel, not so very long since discontinued in Christian countries. This latter explanation of the difficulty involved in the word *tumentes*, derives, perhaps, some confirmation from the words in which Virgil, (*En.* i, 483;) has described the dragging of Hector round the walls of Troy;

Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,  
Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.

There must be some good reason (see note, En. ii, 552) why, in these

Those wounds innumerable : weeping, myself  
 Was first, methought, to speak, and in sad words  
 Accost the hero :—"Light of Dardany !  
 O Teucrian hope most steadfast ! what so great      340  
 Delays have held thee ? from what clime returnest,  
 (n) Expected Hector ? how our weariness,  
 After thy kin's so many funerals,  
 After so various toils of man and city,  
 Looks unto thee ! what indign cause, thy face      345  
 Serene, hath fouled ; or why these wounds behold I ?"  
 He no word answers, nor me querying vain  
 Delays, but heavy from his breast's depth groaning :

lines, *exanimus corpus* is not applied, as might have been expected, to *raptaverat*, but solely to *vendebat* ; and such good reason is at once suggested by the explanation just given of the word *tumentes* ; Achilles drags round the Ilian walls *Hector* (not Hector's *exanimus corpus*, Hector being yet alive) ; and having thus deprived him of life, sells his corpse (*exanimus corpus*) for gold.

[We are, however, by no means necessitated to adopt this explanation of the evidently intentional separation of *exanimus corpus* from *raptaverat*, an at least equally satisfactory one readily suggesting itself : *raptaverat Hectora* (not *exanimus corpus*), because the pathos lay, not in its being a corpse, but in its being *Hector*, his noble rival, whom Achilles thus dishonored ; *vendebat exanimus corpus* (not *Hectora*), because the pathos lay in its being (not, as was usual, a living captive,) but a corpse, which was ransomed.]

The translation of the word *tumentes* remaining the same, no matter which of the above explanations be adopted, I leave it to the reader to choose that explanation, which seems to him best to solve the difficulty.

(n) V. 283.—*Ut te.....aspicimus !* The commentators have found this passage troublesome. *Ut* expressing degree, and there being no degrees of *seeing*, they have felt themselves obliged to separate *ut* from *aspicimus*, and assign it to *defessi* ; but *ut defessi* gives a poor weak meaning, unworthy of Virgil. The difficulty may be got rid of by understanding *aspicimus* figuratively ; of the *mental*, not of the *bodily* sense. *How* (sciz. *with what anxious hope*) *we* (sciz. *in our hearts*) *look towards you !* That the Latin *aspicio* has this secondary or derived meaning, no less than the English to *look* and to *behold*, the French *regarder*, the German *ansehen* and *anschauen*, and the Greek *ἰδεῖν*, let Cornelius Nepos witness (in Chabria) ; "Chabrias privatus omnes qui in magistratu erant auctoritate anteibat, eumque magis milites, quam qui praeerant aspicebant."

It may also be observed, in favor of this interpretation, that it is more correct to represent the absent Trojans as *looking towards Hector with hope and expectation*, than as actually *seeing* him in Eneas's dream.

"Ah, fly," cries, "Goddess-son, and from these flames  
 Snatch thee; the foe the walls hath; from its high  
 Summit Troy ruins: thou for fatherland  
 Enough hast done and Priam; Pergamus,  
 If by right hand defensible, had been  
 By this right hand defended; Troy to thee  
 Her sacred gear commends, and Gods Penates;      355  
 Thy fates' companions these take; with these seek  
 The city, whose great walls thou, the sea o'erwandered,  
 Shalt found at last." He says, and in his hands  
 The tiar, from inmost penetral brings forth,  
 And potent Vesta, and the Eternal Fire.      360

'Meantime with diverse woe confused the city;

(o) And more and more (albeit recessed and secret

(o) V. 299.—*Quanquam secreta parentis, &c.* One of the objections made by Napoleon, (see his Note sur le deuxième livre de l'Enéide, quoted at vers. 5, above,) to Virgil's account of the taking of Troy, is, that it was impossible for Eneas *dans ce peu d'heures et malgré les combats* to have made numerous journeys (*plusieurs voyages*) to the house of Anchises, situated *dans un bois à une demi-lieue de Troyes*. This criticism is doubly erroneous, because, 1st. The house of Anchises was not half a league's distance, nor any distance, from Troy, but in Troy itself, as evidenced by the account (vv. 730, 753) of Eneas's flight from Anchises' house, *out of Troy, through the gate of the city*; and, 2ndly. Because Eneas visits the house only twice, and, on one of those occasions, (as if Virgil had been careful to guard against any demur being made to so many as even two visits to a house, situated, as he here

informs us, in a remote part of the town,) is miraculously expedited by a Goddess.

I know not whether it will be regarded as an extenuation, and not rather as an aggravation, of Napoleon's error, that he has here (as in the other parts of his critique,) depended wholly on Delille's very incorrect translation;

Déjà le bruit affreux, (quelque loin de la ville  
 Mon père eût sa demeure, au fond d'un bois  
 tranquille).

It was, at least, incumbent on him, before he sent forward to the world, under the sanction of his illustrious name, a condemnation of the second book of the Eneis, both in the general, and in the detail, to have taken ordinary pains to ascertain Virgil's true meaning; and to have assured himself that he was not fulminating his condemnation against errors, the greater part of which had no existence, except in the false medium through which alone

My sire Anchises' house, and round with trees closed,)
 Waxes the din clear, ingruent the arms-horror.
 Shaken from sleep, I master the roof's highest 365
 (p) Ridge climbing, and with ears arrected stand :
 So, when on corn the flame falls while the South
 Rages ; or mountain torrent's rapid flood
 Fields prostrates, prostrates joyous braird and ox-toils,
 And woods drags headlong ; the unweeting pastor 370
 Astonies, from high rock-brow the sound catching.
 Plain then the truth ; the Grecian ambush open ;
 Now the house ample of Deiphobus -
 Beneath o'erpowering Vulcan hath, a ruin,
 Fallen ; blazes now next-door Ucalegon ; 375
 Wide from Sigeum's frith shines back the fire ;
 Rises the shout of men, the trumpet-clangor :
 Wild I seize arms, what though in arms no hope
 Rational, but to glomerate a band
 For battle, burns my spirit ; and to rush, 380
 Myself and friends, into the citadel ;
 Madness and wrath transport me, and I think,
 With arms in hand how lovely 'tis to die.

' But Pantheus see, from swords of the Achivi,  
 Pantheus Othryades, elapsed, the priest 385  
 Of Phoebus and the citadel ; with gear

(as sufficiently evidenced both by his own words and his quotations,) he had any acquaintance with Virgil.

(p) V. 302.—*Summi fastigia tecti. Fastigia tecti* ; sciz. *tectum fastigatum* ; a sloping or ridged roof, such as is commonly used throughout Europe at the present day. That this is the

meaning of the term is placed beyond doubt by the passage in which Livy describes the *testudo* ; “*scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis submissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nisis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant.*” Liv. xliiv, 9.

Sacred in hand, and conquered Gods, and dragging,  
Himself, his little grandson, wild, our sill

(q) Towards, comes running :—" Where the chief brunt,  
Pantheus ?

(r) What strong-hold seize we ?" To these words, scarce said,

(q) V. 322.—*Quo res summa loco, Pantheu ?* I cannot agree with Burmann and Forbiger, that, (*quo loco* being taken figuratively, and *res summa* for *salva reipublicae*,) the question asked by Eneas is, *In what condition is the public safety ?* because it were mere idleness of Eneas to ask such question, he being already (v. 309—317) fully aware of the desperate condition of affairs. Still less can I assent to the monstrous proposition of Thiel, (monstrous, as being wholly gratuitous, and unsupported even by the shadow of an authority,) to understand *res summa* as spoken of *the arx*, "von der Burg, als auf welche alles ankommt."

There is no occasion to have recourse to these forced explanations, the literal interpretation affording a better, and, as it seems to me, an unexceptionable meaning, *quo loco (ubi) res summa (summa rei) scilicet agitur ; where, in what part of the town, is the principal conflict ?* i.e. *that on which the fate of the city depends ?* This is a pertinent question, put with the greatest propriety to Pantheus, the first fugitive he met, by Eneas, rushing out of the house with arms in his hands, for the very purpose of aiding his fellow-citizens in the desperate conflict which he knew was going on somewhere, (he did not yet know exactly where,) in the city. He meets Pantheus flying, and begs to be directed to the scene of combat, *quo loco, Pantheu, (scilicet agitur) res summa*. Livy, Lib. xxiii, c. ult. uses *res summa* precisely in the same sense, and, by a singular coincidence, in a passage also descriptive of parties hastening to the scene of action, to the

spot *ubi res summa agitur*. "Eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Karthaginiensium, ibi rem summam agerentes, convenerunt." The phrase *summa rerum* is also used by Livy, vi, 22, in nearly the same sense.

(r) V. 322.—*Quam prendimus arcem ?* "Optimum factu, ut arcem pro perfugio accipias ; quo confugimus ?" Heyne. Wrong, because Eneas is not thinking of *refuge or retreat*, but of *fighting*. See vv. 314, 315, 316, 317, and the whole sequel, even to the end of the book. Virgil knew too well what was due to his hero, to represent him as consulting for his personal safety, and even for flight, before he had struck a single blow, or so much as faced, or even seen the enemy.

"*Qua via, ratione, ad arcem pervenire possumus ?*" Burmann. "*Quomodo prendimus arcem ?*" Wagner. Both wrong, because, if Eneas sought the arx as a safe retreat for himself, the interpretation is liable to the same objection as Heyne's ; if he sought it for the purpose of there fighting at an advantage, it was incumbent on him first to have inquired whether the arx was not already on fire, or in possession of the enemy ; or at least to have waited until Pantheus, in answer to his first question, had informed him where the principal conflict was, and where his assistance was most needed. If Pantheus had answered (which, however, he did not,) "the principal contest is at the arx," then, and not till then, could Eneas have, with propriety, put the further question, *quâ ratione ad arcem pervenire possumus ?*

"*De interpretatione omnino consentio cum Wagnero, sed ita explico, quæ jam*

He answers, groaning :—"The last day is come,  
And ineluctible dooms-hour Dardanian :

*arx reliqua est quam prendere possumus ? i. e. arcem non amplius possumus capere, obtinere. Recte igitur Servius, 'quum tu eam relinquas,' (v. 319) non enim plures erant arces. Weickert. Wrong, 1st. Because, the flight of the aged priest of the citadel proved only that the citadel was in imminent danger, not that it was taken; and 2ndly. Because the reflection, that there was no other citadel to seize and occupy, now that the citadel was lost, if true, was a truth of which Pantheus did not need to be informed.*

"*Wie (quam, qualem) treffen wir die Burg ?*" Thiel. Wrong, because, 1st. We cannot, without putting great force upon the words, understand *quam* to mean *qualem*; or *prendimus* (in the present) to mean *inveniemus* (in the future; and because, 2ndly. There is an evident incongruity between the tame calculating coolness of the question, *wie treffen wir die Burg ?* and the highly excited, maddened (*amens*) state of Eneas's mind, see vv. 314—317.

All these erroneous interpretations are but the various offshoots of the radical, and hitherto unsuspected, error, that the *nos*, which is the subject of *prendimus*, means either *ego et socii*, or *ego et tu*, sciz. *Pantheus*. Let us understand the *nos* of *prendimus* to mean simply *Trojani*, (not including either Eneas or Pantheus,) and the sentence is immediately extricated from all difficulty; Eneas asks, *What arx do we* (sciz. *Trojans*) *occupy ?* This question is (a) simple and intelligible, and puts no force upon any of the words, Eneas using *nos* to express the Trojans, without including either himself or Pantheus, in the same way as an English speaker or historian says '*we* conquered at Trafalgar,' or '*we* sent an expedition to Egypt,' although the battle of Trafalgar was fought, and the expedition to Egypt sent, before either himself or

any of his hearers was born: *prendimus* being used in its ordinary sense of *seizing and holding*, and being put in the present instead of the past time, because the action is not yet completed; and *arx* being understood generically, of any place capable of being defended, *ex. gr.* any hill, temple, palace, tower, fort, or even wall or ditch. (b) *Quam prendimus arcem*, thus understood, harmonises so perfectly with *quo res summa loco*, that it may be considered rather as a modified repetition of that question than as a new and independent one, Eneas expecting but one answer to his inquiry *where is the chief contest ? what place of strength do we (Trojans) occupy ?* because the chief contest was of course wherever the Trojans were endeavoring to defend themselves by means of *an advantageous position*. (c) Thus understood, Eneas's question is consistent with his character of hero; he does not gasconade about seizing *an* (or *the*) *arx* in order to defend it either with *socii* (*ego et socii*), he being alone, and having no *socii* until chance afterwards throws them in his way; or with the assistance of an old, frightened, and fugitive priest (*ego et tu*), encumbered with the images of his gods, and with a helpless child; neither does he consider how he may best save himself under the shelter of *an* (or *the*) *arx*; but, his first and immediate impulse being to give all the assistance in his power, he asks, in the briefest terms possible, the appropriate question, *where is the brunt of battle ? in what place of strength do the Trojans defend themselves ?* and with propriety puts the question to Pantheus, because he is the first person whom he meets, and has that moment come from the scene of danger. (d) But further, as truth is always not only consistent with, but illustrative of other truth, so this

Trojans we once were ; Ilium and the huge  
 Glory of Teucria once was ; wild-beast Jove  
 All has transferred to Argos ; in the fired 395  
 City the Danaï are dominant ;  
 High-towering in the midst the horse teems warriors,  
 And victor Sinon flings his brands, insulting :  
 There, to the gates' bi-patency they press,  
 In thousands numerous as ever came 400  
 From great Mycenæ ; here, with bristling front  
 The narrow streets already they beset ;  
 The drawn edge stands, death-gleaming ; scarce resist,  
 Or try the darkling battle, the gate night-watch."

- (s) ' Driven by this answer of Othryades, 405  
 And the Gods' will, I rush midst arms and flames,  
 Where calls severe Erinys, and the din,  
 And shout sky-volleyed ; add their fellowship,  
 And to our side agglomerate, by the moonlight,  
 Ripheus, and Iphitus mightiest in arms, 410  
 And Hypanis and Dymas, and the youth  
 Choroebus, son of Mygdon ; with insane

interpretation of Eneas's question is not merely consistent with, but illustrates, the answer of Pantheus, who, being asked *where the chief conflict is ? what art of defence the Trojans occupy ?* replies, *There is no conflict, the Trojans occupy and defend no art, the Greeks are victorious and masters of the city, (dominantur in urbe), the city is on fire, every street is beset by the enemy with flaming swords, and thousands more are entering at the gates, the guards of which are overpowered, and make no resistance.* A more direct answer could not be given to Eneas's question,

*where is the chief conflict ? what point of defence do the Trojans occupy ?* (e) And Eneas proceeds accordingly ; for, having learned from Pantheus that there was no stand made by the Trojans, and that therefore there was no one spot which demanded his presence more than another, he follows the guidance of the noise and the fire,

*In flammas et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,  
 Quo fremitus vocat, et sublatus ad aethera  
 clamor.*—vv. 337, 338.

(1) V. 336.—*Talibus Othryadae dictis, &c.* See note second, vers. 322.

Love of Cassandra fired, who chance those days  
 Had come to Troy, and, son-in-law, had brought,  
 To Priam aid, and Phrygia; hapless he, 415  
 That listed not his ecstasied bride's precepts.  
 Whose daring when I saw banded to battle,  
 These words I add:—"Youths, bravest hearts in vain,  
 If resolute my desperation's lead  
 To follow, fortune's attitude ye see; 420  
 Altar and shrine forsaking, all the Gods,  
 Sustainers of this empire, have departed;  
 Ye bring your succour to a burning city:  
 Let us die, and amid arms rush; one sole  
 Safety the conquered have, to hope no safety." 425  
 Their courage becomes fury, and, like wolves  
 In black fog rapining, whom the improbable  
 Rage of the belly blind-wode hath forth-driven,  
 And forlorn cubs' dry throats expect, we march  
 Through foes and weapons, to no doubtful death, 430  
 And, by the black night's hollow shade round-fitted,  
 Hold the mid-city route. Who may the carnage,  
 The funerals of that night, with speech unfold?  
 With tears the labors equal? Ancient, falls,  
 And dominant for many a year, the city; 435  
 Thick strowed on every side, through every street,  
 (†) Gods' dome and sill religious, quickless bodies.

(†) V. 365.—*Perque domos et religiosa Deorum Limina*. I refer *domos*, along with *limina*, to *Deorum*, and understand the meaning to be, the domes (or temples) of the Gods, and their religious entrances, approaches, or precincts. The structure is precisely the same as at vers. 634, where *limina*

and *domos* are united, and, as there can be but little doubt, both referred to *sedes*. The translators understand *domos* to be the citizens' houses; incorrectly, I think, because, 1st. Although there might have been sufficient time for the massacre of those timid persons, who, at the first alarm, had fled to the



Nor pay the Teucris sole, blood-penalty ;  
 Virtue sometimes into the conquered cardiac  
 Returns, and victor Greek falls ; everywhere 440  
 Is cruel wailing, panic everywhere,  
 And death's innumerable image. First,  
 With a great troop, accompanied, of Danaï,  
 Presents himself Androgeos, and, unweeting,  
 Believes us sociate bands, and friendly accosts :— 445  
 “ Brave fellows haste ; what so late sloth detains ye ?  
 While others Pergamus rap, reave, and burn,  
 Ye from the tall ships now first come.” He said,  
 And instantly, for scarce our answer trusty,  
 Into the midst of the foe perceived him lapsed : 450  
 Astounded, he drew back his foot and voice ;  
 Like one who hath the adder unforeseen  
 Foot-trodden among rough thorns, and recoils  
 Sudden and trepidant before the wrath  
 Uprisen, and blue swollen gorge ; no otherwise, 455  
 At the sight tremefact, retreats Androgeos.  
 On-rushing, and round-pouring with dense arms,  
 We fell them fast, unskilful of the ground,  
 And panic-seized ; fair on our first emprise  
 Breathes fortune ; with success elate, and courage, 460  
 “ Comrades,” then cries Choroebus, “ let us follow  
 Where Fortune first points safety's way, where first  
 She shows herself propitious ; let us change  
 Shields, and of Danaï fit on the insignia ;

temples, there had not yet been sufficient time for the sacking of individual houses, and the massacre of their inhabitants. And 2ndly. Even if there had been sufficient time for the mas-

sacre of the inhabitants inside their houses, Eneas could much less easily have seen the dead bodies in the private houses, than in the temples.

Who in a foe asks, whether artifice

465

(u) Or valor? their own selves shall lend us arms."

He said, and, straight, the bushy helm did on,

And shield's decorous ensign, of Androgeos;

And to his side fitted the Argive sword;

Ripheus the same does, Dymas self, and all

470

The youth rejoicing; each in the fresh spoils

Arms; with the Danaï immixed we go,

Without our own God-guardage; many a battle

Join, close hand, through the blind night; many a Greek

Send down to Orcus: in flight diverse, some

475

The ships seek running, and the faithful shore;

Part, with base fear, again the huge horse climb,

(x) And, diving, hide in the acquainted belly.

Alas! without crime may no man confide

Aught, if the Gods not with him; behold! dragged

From Pallas' fane and shrine, with knotless locks,

The Priameian virgin, eyes of fire

(y) Cassandra straining toward heaven in vain,

(u) V. 391.—*Arma dabunt ipsi*. If, as hitherto supposed, *ipsi* mean the persons whom Choroebus and his party are despoiling of their arms, ("Die Todten werden Waffen geben." Schiller); the sentence *arma dabunt ipsi* is a mere tautology, the same meaning being contained in the preceding *mutemus clypeos*, &c.; for, *Let us exchange arms with these persons*, and *these persons shall supply us with arms*, are plainly but different ways of saying the same thing. I, therefore, refer *ipsi* to the Danaï; the enemy, generally: and understand Choroebus's meaning to run thus, *Let us change shields, &c. with these dead fellows here, and, by so doing, compel the Danaï, the invaders themselves,*

(*ipsi*), to furnish us with arms. The passage being so interpreted, there is, 1st, no tautology; and, 2ndly, *ipsi* has its proper emphatic force.

The sentiment contained in *arma dabunt ipsi* is familiar to us in the English proverbial expression *furnish a rod to whip himself*.

(x) V. 401.—*Conduuntur*. *Condo* is (strictly) not merely to *hide*, but, the force of *do* being preserved in its compound, (see note En. i, 60), to *put or plunge into a place, so as to hide*. Hence it is sometimes even joined with a preposition governing the accusative.

*Sol quoque et exoriens, et cum se condet in undas.* Georg. i, 438.

(y) V. 403.—*Priameia virgo*..... *Cassandra*. Adopting the form of Virgil's

(2)(a) Eyes, for her dainty palms bonds hindered ; brooked,  
 Of mind infuriated, Choroebus not 485  
 That spectacle, and into the band's midst  
 Flung him to die ; we in a body all  
 Follow, and gore their rout with dense arms ; here  
 First are we overwhelmed from the high-fane top  
 With own friends' missiles ; and most wretched carnage  
 Out of the aspect ensues of our arms,  
 And Graian crest-manes' error : then with groan,  
 The Danaï from every side collected,  
 And ire for rescued virgin, fall upon us,  
 Most doughty Ajax and the Atridae twain, 495  
 And whole Dolopian muster : as sometimes  
 In whirlwind-burst winds opposite conflict,  
 Both Zephyrus and Notus, and, rejoicing,  
 Eurys, in steeds Eoan ; screech the woods,  
 And, foamy, with his trident welters Nereus, 500  
 And from its depth profoundest stirs the sea.  
 Those too whom, in the obscure night's shade, our ambush  
 Had routed, and the whole city thorough driven

sentence, I have in the translation of this passage separated *Cassandra* from *Præmeia virgo*, and thus deviated from the English idiom, which, (I believe, always) unites the proper name with the apposite words containing the description of the individual. At vv. 500, 501, of the first book of this translation, I have adopted a similar structure, and, treading as closely as I could in Virgil's steps, separated the name *Venus* from the character or description, *Dea*. See also v. 858, B. i, of this translation, and note ; also note, En. ii, 552.

(2) V. 406.—*Lumina*. See note, vers. 247.

(a) V. 406.—*Nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas*. It is evident that the translators understand the words *vincula arcebant* to be equivalent to *vincula ligabant*, and to mean no more than that *chains bound her hands*.

Her eyes, for fast her tender wrists were bound. *Surrey*.

— rude fetters bound her tender hands. *Beresford*.

On the contrary, the idea of *binding* does not extend beyond the word *vincula* ; and *arcebant* has its own proper force, of *hindering, keeping away* : (*vincula*) *bonds, (arcebant) hindered, kept off*, her hands, sciz. so that she could not extend them towards heaven.

(b) Pell-mell, appear ; the first to recognise

(c)(d) Our shields and belied weapons, and our mouths 505

Discrepant, by the sound mark ; instant numbers

Whelm us ; and first, beside the armipotent

Goddess's altar, lies Choroebus stretched

By right hand of Peneleus ; Ripheus too

Falls, of the Teucris justest, and of right 510

Tenacious most ; to the Gods otherwise

Seemed fit : on friends' steel perish Hypanis

And Dymas ; nor thee falling, Pantheus, covered

Thy piety numerous, or Apollo's tiar.

Cinders of Ilium, pyre-flame of my feres, 515

O ! bear me witness, in your fall I shrank not

(e) From weapon or reprisal of the Danaï ;

(b) V. 422.—*Primi*. The first to discover the cheat, because the first and principal sufferers.

(c) V. 422.—*Clipeos mentitaque tela*, &c. They discover the cheat, not all at once, but by two successive steps ; first, recognise the shields and weapons, i.e. perceive that they are those of Androgeos and his party ; and then mark the discrepancy of our voices ; i.e. the non-agreement of our voices with the shields and weapons ; or, in other words, that our voices are not those of Androgeos and his party. See note, ii, 423.

*Mentita*. Not *agnoscunt mentita*, because they do not discover the false pretence, until after they have compared the recognised weapons with the voices of those by whom they are carried, and observed the discrepancy ; but *agnoscunt clipeos telaque*, the term *mentita* being added merely for the sake of clearness, and lest any doubt might arise that the *tela* and *clipeos*, which the Danaï recognise, are the *mentita tela* and *clipeos*, previously spoken of.

(d) V. 423.—*Ora sono discordia signant*. Not *signant ora*, *discordia sono* ; but *signant sono*, *ora discordia* (sciz. *clipeis telisque*) ; the sound being the mark or sign, which shows that the mouths (*ora*), sciz. the speech, disagrees with the *clipeos* and *tela*. Parallel with *signant ora sono*, we have En. ix, 181 ; *signans ora juventū*. In the passage before us, however, *signant* means, not, as in that just quoted, literally and actually marking, but, as in *simul ultima signant*, (En. v. 317 ; ) remarking.

(e) V. 432.—*Nec tela, nec ulla Vitavisse vices, Danaum*. Shunned no reprisal of the Danaï, whether of weapons, or of whatever kind ; i.e. Was not deterred from attacking them, by fear of what they might do to me in return, (in *vicem* or *per vices*).

This use of *vices* (sciz. to signify reprisal or return,) flows directly from the radical meaning of the word, and is very familiar to the best Latin writers. Tanto proclivius est injuriæ, quam beneficio, vicem exsolvere. Tacit.

And, had the Fates been willing I should die,  
 Mine arm well earned the meed. Thence we are torn  
 Ways several; Iphitus with me, and Pelias; 520  
 (Age-heavy, Iphitus; and with Ulysses'  
 Wound, Pelias slow;) straight to the seats of Priam  
 Called by the clamor. Here, indeed, we see  
 Battle;—as, elsewhere, were no war; none died  
 Else in the total city;—so untamed 525

- (f) Mars, such the rush of Danaï to the storming,  
 So with the tortoisèd shield the door blockaded:  
 Scale-ladders to the walls cling, on whose rounds  
 (g) Even at the jambs they strive up; and, protected  
 With left hands, shields oppose to missiles, gripe 530  
 With right the cope. Uptear against them turrets  
 And roof-tops, the Dardanidæ; with these  
 Weapons, the last need come, and now in death's  
 Extremest, to defend themselves prepare,  
 And gilt beams, lofty adornings of their foresires, 535  
 Roll down; the doors below, others, with drawn blades,  
 Obsess, and guard in dense corps. The king's house  
 Our spirits to succour freshen, and the brave men  
 Relieve auxiliar, and enforce the conquered.

Hist. 4, 3. Neque est ullus affectus tam liber et dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigat. Plin. in Paneg. c. 85. Spernentem sperne, sequenti Redde vices. Ovid. Metam. xiv, 35. And, with a genitive, as in the passage before us, Multarum miseras exigit una vices. Propert. 1, 13, 10. Nor have I any doubt that the ancient scholiast is correct in understanding in this sense, Plus vice simplici. Hor. Carm. 4, 14, 13. "*Vult intelligi in vastandis his non tantam illis cladem int-*

*lisce, quantam ipsi dederant, sed duplam; h.e. eam non simplici vice reddidisse.*"

The attempts of Virgil's best commentators to elucidate the (so plain and obvious,) meaning of this passage, are as ludicrous as ineffectual.

(f) V. 440.—*Ad tecta ruentes*. I understand *tecta* here to be, not *the* roof, but, (as *tectorum*, vers. 454, and *tecto*, vers. 478, and the same word in numerous other places,) *the house*.

(g) V. 442.—*Postesque sub ipsos*. See note, En. ii, 453.

(h) 'An entrance at the rear was, and blind door-valves,  
(Intercommunicant of Priam's houses,)

And jambs deserted; 'twas where went so oft  
Hapless Andromache, while yet the state stood,  
To husband's kin, unaccompanied, repair,  
And to his grandsire drew the boy Astyanax;

545

(i)(k) Up to the highest roof-slope ridge I pass

(h) V. 453.—*Limen erat, &c. A tergo, at the rear; erat limen, was an approach; caecaeque fores, and a blind door, or, more strictly, blind door-valves; et pervius usus, and a thoroughfare, sciz., through that door, or those door-valves; postesque relict, and door posts left, or abandoned, sciz. by their usual guards.*

*Caecae.* I understand this term to signify, not, *concealed in a dark or secret nook*, but *contrived so as to appear not to be a door, but merely a part of the wall*; 1st. Because the term is precisely that which we might, *a priori*, expect to be used to designate a door so contrived. 2ndly. Because the term being so understood, the force of the immediately succeeding words, *pervius usus* (obscure, if *caecae* be interpreted *dark or secret*) becomes clear and apparent, sciz. *that this seeming no-door was yet pervious, afforded pervium usum.* And, 3rdly. Because it were derogatory to Andromache to represent her as skulking in at a door in a dark corner, but by no means so to represent her as pushing open blind valves in the side or wall of the building, which, as soon as she had passed, closed again, and showed no appearance of an entrance, but only a mere blank wall. The passage, so understood, is constructed according to Virgil's usual manner, the descriptive adjectives being joined not to the whole object, but to the parts of which the object consists; *caecae*, to the door-valves, the part of most importance to be concealed; and *relict* to the posts or jambs,

where no doubt, as in all other ages and countries, the sentinels were usually placed, so as to guard the entrance, one at each side.

*Postes relict.* The reader, accepting the explanation, just proposed, of the special junction of *relict* with *postes*, will be relieved from the necessity of joining Wunderlich in the wish that these words had been altogether omitted, "*vellem abessent.*"

I suspect that there is a similar allusion to the usual position of the sentinels at the door-posts, in the words (v. 442) *postesque sub ipsos, up at the very door-posts*; where (sciz. as being the most important and specially guarded position,) the scaling-ladders could not have been placed, if matters had not come to the last extremity with Priam.

*A tergo.* All the parts of this secret entrance being equally *at the rear of the building*, the words *a tergo* are not applied to any one part specially, but equally to all.

A little further on, (v. 557,) there is a sentence of precisely similar construction:—

Jacet ingens Httore truncus,  
Avulsunque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.

Where, first, a separate and appropriate predicate is assigned to each part, (*ingens* to *truncus*, and *avulsus* *humeris* to *caput*,) and then a predicate, common to each part, (*sine nomine*,) to the whole (*corpus*.) See note En. ii. 552.

(i) V. 458.—*Fastigia.* See note, vers. 302.

(k) V. 458.—*Evedo, &c. Evado,*

Thorough, whence wretched Trojans their vain missiles

(l) Flinging. A tower precipitous that stood,

Reared starward on the roof-top, (whence all Troy

Wont to be seen, ships of the Danaï,

550

And camp Achaian,) round with iron, where

(m) To the top story insecure the joint,

Emprising, from its lofty seat we have upturn,

And forward pushed; with sudden lapse, it drags

(e-vado,) go the whole way; pass over the entire space, whether upward, downward, or on the level; whether physically, as in the passage before us, or metaphorically as in Terent. Adelph. iii, 4, 63.

Verum nimis illac licentia

Profecto evadet in aliquod magnum malum.

Burmamn, in his commentary on this passage, and Forcellini, in his dictionary, interpreting *evado* by *ascendo*, transfer to this verb a meaning wholly foreign to it, and contained only (incidentally) in the context.

(l) V. 460. — *Turrim in praecipiti stantem*, &c. "In *praecipiti stantem*—h. e. in alto positam; Cf. Juven, i, 149. Omne in *praecipiti* vitium stetit, i.e. summum gradum assecutum est." Heyne. I entirely dissent from this interpretation, 1st. Because, in *praecipiti* never means in *alto*, but always (not only in Virgil, but in all other Latin authors, and even in the very passage of Juvenal which Heyne quotes in support of his gloss,) on the edge of a precipice, or in such a situation that a headlong fall would be easy and probable. 2ndly. Because, if this interpretation be correct, Virgil has committed the double error, (a) of stating twice over that the turret was seated in a high situation, (first, in the words in *praecipiti stantem*, and then in the immediately succeeding words *summique sub astra Eductam tectis*,) and (b) of wholly omitting to state that it was seated, (where it certainly

must have been seated, or it could not have fallen headlong on the besiegers,) sciz. on the edge of the roof, perpendicularly over the front wall.

In *praecipiti stantem* being understood to mean on the edge of the roof, the description of the turret becomes simple, clear, and vivid; it was *summus tectis*, on the top of the roof; *eductam sub astra*, raised to a great height above it; in *praecipiti stantem*, standing perpendicularly on the roof edge, above the wall of the palace.

(m) V. 463. — *Qua summa labantes Juncturas tabulata dabant*. Where the turret was connected with, and easily separable from, the highest story of the palace below. Heyne and Wagner understand *summa tabulata* to mean the highest story of the turret; but, admitting that the turret had a number of stories, the Trojans could not have attacked round about with iron the highest story of a turret, *eductam sub astra*, without ascending the turret; and having ascended, it seems impossible to comprehend how they could precipitate it on the Greeks, without precipitating themselves along with it; or indeed, how being in, or on, it, they could precipitate it at all. The words *convellimus* and *impulimus* are, of themselves, sufficient to show that the Trojans stood on the roof of the palace, while they tore up the turret, *sedibus altis*, (from its high seat, sciz. on the roof,) and pushed it forward, so as to cause it to fall on the besiegers.

Loud ruin, and upon the Danaï bands 555  
 Falls wide; but others take their place; nor stones  
 Have ceased the while, nor missiles any kind.

(n) 'Before the vestibule, and sill immediate,

Pyrrhus exults, coruscating in weapons

(o) And brazen light: the coluber to light, so, 560

On noxious grass fed, (whom cold brume had covered,  
 Swollen, under ground,) now from his cast slough new  
 And youthful-brilliant, with uplifted breast,  
 High to the sun his slippery back convolves,

(p) And muzzle-twinkles with his tongues tri-furrow. 565

(n) V. 469.—*Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine. Vestibulum ante ipsum* expressing only that Pyrrhus was in front of the vestibule, *primo in limine* is added to explain, that he was not only in front of it, but close to it, at the very threshold.

(o) V. 471.—*Qualis ubi in lucem coluber.* I have preserved, in the translation, the break which Virgil has made in the grammatical construction, (*in lucem.....ad solem*;) and which seems to me to heighten the effect of this fine passage.

Tasso, how much assisted by Virgil I will not pretend to say, has a similarly fine description of a serpent:—

Ma esca, non so donde, e s'attraversa  
 Fiera serpendo orribile e diversa.  
 Innalza d'oro squallido squamoso  
 Le creste e'l capo, et gonfia il collo d'ira:  
 [Attollentem iras, et caerulea colla tumulentem. En. ii, 381.]  
 Arde ne gli occhi; e le vie tute ascose  
 Tien sotto il ventre, e toscio e fumo spira.  
 Or rientra in se stessa, or le nodose  
 Rote distende, e se dopo se tira.

Gerusalem. Lib. xv, 47, 48.

(p) V. 475.—*Linguis micat ore trisulcis.* Not twinkles tri-furrow tongues in his mouth, but, by means of his tri-

furrow tongues, sciz. by their vibrations, (*linguis vibrantibus*, verse 211,) causes his mouth to twinkle.

I beg to re-assure the English reader that the, if he so please, *uncouth* words which I have used here, and occasionally throughout this translation, are indispensably necessary to the true representation of the original meaning; and that, without them, it is absolutely impossible, (so great is the *unparallelism*, shall I call it? of the two languages and rhythms,) to express, in English iambic, thoughts expressly adapted by Virgil to the Latin language and hexameter rhythm, and, as there can be no doubt, on many occasions specially selected by him, on account of their peculiar adaptability to that language and that rhythm. I might, indeed, with less trouble than the composition of these lines cost me, have rendered them as *English* and harmonious, as the most fastidious English taste and ear could desire, had I been able to prevail on myself to substitute my own thoughts for Virgil's, and translate (with Pitt,) *lubrica terga* (slippery backs,) *golden scales*; *linguis trisulcis* (tri-furrow



With him huge Periphas, and he that drove  
 Whilom Achilles' steeds, armigerous  
 Automedon; with him all Seyros' isle  
 Come storming, and the flames fling to the summits:  
 Himself, among the first, bipennate axe 570  
 Seizing, the hard door forces, and the plated

- (g) Posts brazen from the hinge tears; and hath now,  
 The plank excising, hollowed the firm oak  
 Into a huge-yawned window; appears within  
 The house; stand patent the long halls; appears 575  
 The penetral of Priam and the old kings;  
 And they see armed men standing in the threshold.

- (r) 'But the interior dwelling is confounded  
 With groan and miserable hubbub; shrieks  
 Thorough with woman's wailing the house-concave; 580  
 Strikes the gold stars the shout: then pavid mothers,

tongues,) *forky sting*; and *micat ore* (twinkles in the mouth,) *darts*. The following considerations, however, amongst numerous others, prevented me from even so much as inclining to give ear to the dictates of indolence, and translate after such fashion; 1st. That there is no lack of fluent translations of Virgil. 2ndly. That the essence of good writing consists in the clear, manly, correct, instructive sense, (*Scribendi rectè, sapere est et principium et fons*,) of which the fluent sound is at most but an ornament; a beautiful ornament, indeed, but still no more than an ornament, and for that reason always to be sacrificed, when its sacrifice becomes necessary for the preservation of that which it ornaments. 3rdly, and perhaps not least, that it is not morally correct to palter with an author's meaning, (and conse-

quently with his dearest of all treasures, his reputation,) for the sake of attracting to self, by means of a meretricious fluency, the but too easily won admiration of the ignorant. See second note, vers. 272.

(g) V. 480.—*Postesque a cardine vellit*. It is sufficiently clear from this description, that the *postes* of the door of Priam's palace formed part, not of the wall, but of the door itself, and turned, with it, upon the hinges. See also verse 493.

(r) V. 486.—*At domus interior..... Tum pavidæ, &c.* Two distinct, successive pictures: one of the confusion in the *domus interior*, the *gynæceum*; the other, of the wandering of the women (after they have left the *gynæceum*,) over the palace at large, *tectis ingentibus*.

- The huge house roaming, hold the posts embraced,  
 And print with kisses. Pyrrhus' strength paternal
- (e) On urges; which nor closures, nor the guards  
 Themselves, endure may : to the frequent ram 588  
 Totters the door; and, from the hinge removed,  
 Prostrate the posts lie: force makes path; the admitted  
 Danaï burst entrance, massacre the foremost,  
 And wide the places fill with soldiery.
- (f) Not foamy river, when, with conquering gurge, 590  
 It bursts the dyke's opposing mass, so furious  
 Borne on the fields a-heap, and all the plains through  
 Drags herd and stall: myself have seen with slaughter  
 Raging Neoptolemus, and on the threshold  
 The twain Atridae; Hecuba have seen 595  
 And daughters hundred; and, amid the altars,  
 Priam defiling with his blood the fires  
 Himself had sanctified; prostrate those fifty  
 Bedchambers, hope so great of children's children,  
 Posts, with barbaric gold and spoils, superb: 600  
 Where the fire spares, the Danaï obtain.

' And what was Priam's fate? perhaps thou askest.  
 When the misfortune of the captured city,  
 And wrecked his dwelling's entrance, he beheld,  
 And midst the penetral the foe, in arms 605  
 Unwonted long, age-palsied shoulders casing  
 In vain, and girt with useless sword, the old man

(e) V. 491.—*Claustra*. See note En. ii, 259.

(f) V. 496. — *Non sic, aggeribus ruptis, quum spumeus amnis Exiit, &c.*

Then David said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand, like the breaking forth of waters.

1 Chronicles, xiv, 11.

Into the thick of the foe rushes, to die.  
 Amid the buildings, and beneath the ether's  
 Bare axis, a huge altar stood, and, close by, 610  
 Incumbent o'er the altar, and, with shadow  
 Embracing the Penates, a most ancient  
 Laurel. Here Hecuba and daughters vainly  
 About the altars, (like precipitous doves  
 In black storm,) close sat crowded, and the Gods' 615  
 Images clasping; but, when youthful-armed  
 Priam himself she saw, "What so dire meaning  
 Most wretched spouse," she said, "hath with these weapons  
 (u) Girt thee? or whither rushest? Not such aid  
 The time needs, nor defences such; not though 620

(u) V. 521.—*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis*. The commentators and translators refer these words to Priam; *Defensoribus istis, qualis tu es*. Forbiger. This is undoubtedly erroneous; for,

1st. It is incredible that the exquisite judgment of Virgil would put into the mouth of Hecuba, on such an occasion, words contemptuous of, and offensive to, the aged king, her husband; *Tali auxilio, such help as thine; defensoribus istis; such defenders as thee, forsooth!*

2ndly. The passage, so understood, is utterly inconsistent with the subsequent, *non, si ipse meus nunc afforet Hector*; for the presence of Hector could not render the puny assistance of Priam in the least degree more useful.

3rdly. The contrast between the assistance brought by Priam, and that assistance, which alone Hecuba considered as of any use, viz. the protection of the altar, is not sufficiently striking.

I therefore refer *tali auxilio....defensoribus istis* to *telis* in the preceding line; so understood the words are,

(a) perfectly void of offence towards Priam; (b) harmonise with *non, si ipse meus nunc afforet Hector*, the meaning being that arms are now useless, even although Hector himself were here to use them; and (c) afford a stronger sense, inasmuch as the protection of arms contrasts, more strongly than the protection of Priam, with the protection afforded by the altar.

In confirmation of this view, it will be observed that in the description which Virgil has given of Priam, in the immediately preceding verses, it is not so much the mere imbecility of the old man, which he wishes to place before our eyes, as the more affecting picture of that imbecility clothed in, and attempting to wield, arms:—

*Arma diu senior desueta trementibus aëvo  
Circundat nequidquam humeris.*

And so Hecuba:—

*Ipsam....sumptis Priamum juvenilibus armis  
Ut vidit: quæ mens tam dira, miserrime  
conjux,*

*Impulit his cingi telis? Aut quo ruis? inquit,  
Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis (scilicet  
istis telis)  
Tempus eget.*

My Hector's self now present; hither do  
Come then; this altar will protect us all,  
Or thou shalt with us die." She said, and to her  
The long-aged took, and placed in the sacred seat.

'But see! elapsed from Pyrrhus' quell, Polites, 625  
One of the sons of Priam, by the long  
Porticoes flies, through midst of foes and weapons,  
And thrids the empty halls, hurt: burning Pyrrhus  
Him with infest wound pursues; now, and now,  
With the hand holds, and presses with the spear. 630

(v) He, when whole way at last come fore the eyes  
(x)(y) And face parental, falls, and in much blood  
Effuses life; nor Priam, though death's prisoner,  
Withal abstained then, nor voice spared, nor ire;  
But, "Ha!" shouts, "for this wickedness, this dare 635  
Outrageous, may the Gods, (if pious aught,  
In heaven, such acts heeds,) worthy thank, and due  
Guerdon repay thee, who hast made mine eyes  
Behold mine offspring perish, and the father's  
Presence contaminated with the son's death. 640

I crave the pardon of our parliamentary orators for an explanation, which shows, in what total ignorance of their true meaning, these words are used vituperatively.

(v) V. 531.—*Evasit*. See note, En. ii, 458.

(x) V. 532. — *Concidit*. I entirely agree with Heyne's gloss, "Put a Politen ex vulnere priore concidere." Forbiger, commenting on this gloss, and of a contrary opinion, asks, with great simplicity, "Cur ex priore vulnere, quum Heyne verba premit hasta per transfigit explicuerit?" The answer is, because Pyrrhus does not actually transfix, but jam jamque premit, is,

every moment, on the point of transfixing [rather oppressing]. If Virgil had meant to say that Pyrrhus did actually transfix Polites, he would not have subjoined the words, *Ut tandem ante oculos evasit*, &c., descriptive of the continuation of the flight, without interruption, to the spot where the parents were sitting.

(y) V. 532.—*Concidit*, (con-cado,) fell down, as we say, all of a heap; as a man falls, when fainting from the loss of blood. Its opposite is *Procumbit* (pro-cumbo), lies stretched at full length, as a strong man, who has been felled to the ground by a single blow. See vers. 426.

Far other foe to Priam that Achilles  
 Thy leasing calls thy sire ; who blushed the rights  
 And faith of suppliant, and the exsanguious  
 Body Hectorean to the tomb restored,  
 And me sent to my realms again." So said, 645

(2) The old man his unwarrior weapon flung  
 Strokeless ; which by the hoarse brass instantly  
 Repelled, in vain hung from the shield's boss top.  
 "Then to the sire Pelides thou shalt post,"  
 Pyrrhus replied, "the bearer of this news ; 650  
 To him my naughty deeds forget not tell,  
 And how degenerate Neoptolemus :  
 Now die." To the very altar, with the word,  
 He dragged him trembling, and in the much blood  
 Of his son slipping ; in his locks entwined 655

(a) The left hand ; forth with right the sparkling drew,  
 And blade plunged in his side up to the hilt.  
 So ended Priam's fates ; this exit him

(\*) V. 545.—*Conjecit*. See note, En. ii, 50.

(a) V. 552. — *Coruscum Extulit*.....  
*abdidit ensem*. *Ensem* belongs to both  
 verbs, *coruscum* only to *extulit*. *Ex-*  
*tulit (ensem) coruscum*, because the  
 very act of drawing the sword made it  
 sparkle ; *abdidit ensem* (no longer  
*coruscum*), because the very act of  
 plunging it (or stowing it away, see  
 note, En. i, 60,) into the side, caused  
 it to cease to sparkle.

In order, if possible, to preserve in  
 the translation the accuracy of the  
 original, I have here ventured even to  
 deviate a little from the English idiom ;  
 if, however, the reader is too much at-  
 tached to the English (inaccurate)  
 form of expression, to endure the least  
 deviation from it, even for the sake of  
 accuracy, my temerity is of easy cor-  
 rection by the least skilful hand ;

Drew with right the sparkling blade,  
 And plunged it in his side, &c.

If it be not mere supererogation to  
 refer to instances of a similar beautiful  
 accuracy of language in a writer,  
 whose language is always super-emi-  
 nently accurate, I would here refer the  
 reader to the special apposition of  
*bellatrix* to *aurea cingula*, and of *virgo*  
 to *viris*, En. i, 493 ; to the junction of  
*Fortuna* with the two verbs *finxit* and  
*finget*, and of *improba* with the latter  
 only, En. ii, 80 ; to the similar junc-  
 tion of *interclusit* and *terrui* with  
*illos*, and of *interclusit* alone with  
*euntes*, En. ii, 110 ; to the precise  
*intorserit hastam, laeserit cuspidem*, En.  
 ii, 230 ; and to the, if possible, still  
 more precise, *funderet lumen apoc*....  
*lambere flamma*, En. ii, 682, where  
 see note also : to the observations  
 in note, En. ii, 273, on *raptaverat*  
*Hectora* .... *Exanimum*..... *corpus ven-*  
*debat*, En. i, 483 ; and to En. ii, 758,  
 and note.

Removed by lot, when he had seen Troy's flames,  
 And Pergamus laid prostrate ; Asia's ruler, 660  
 Once with so many lands, superb, and peoples :

- (b) A huge trunk on the shore he lies ; a head  
 Torn from the shoulders ; without name, a body.

‘ But me stern horror, then first time, environed ;  
 Aghast I stood ; rose, imaged to my mind, 665  
 My own dear sire, when I beheld the king,  
 Co-aged, at cruel wound his life exhaling ;  
 Rose, too, forlorn Creusa, my house sacked,  
 And the unhappy chance of little Iulus.  
 Mine eye reverted asks what strength I muster : 670  
 All, weary, have deserted me, and, leaping,  
 Their bodies to the ground flung, or resigned them,  
 Sickened, to the flames. And now I was survivor  
 Sole, when in Vesta's precinct I behold  
 Tyndaris housed, and in the secret seat 675

- (c) Silently lurking, (the bright conflagration  
 Me roaming lights, and on all things mine eyes  
 Everywhere casting) : she, the Teucrian wreck  
 For Pergamus o'erthrown, and of the Danaï  
 The penalties, and her deserted lord's wrath, 680  
 Fearing with all fear, Troy's and fatherland's  
 (d) Common Erinys, had herself away put,  
 And out of sight was sitting by the altar.

(b) V. 557.—*Jacet ingens littore truncus*, &c. See note, En. ii, 453. Sir J. Denham's fine line, borrowed by Dryden,

A headless carcass, and a nameless thing,  
 unfortunately falls short of Virgil's  
 meaning, which is, that not only the

decapitated body, but the head also,  
 lies upon the shore.

(c) V. 569.—*Dant clara incendia lucem*. *Incendia lumen Præbebant*.  
 Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 331.

(d) V. 574.—*Abdiderat*. See note,  
 En. i, 60.

My soul takes fire ; rises my wrath, to avenge  
 My falling country, and the wicked punish :— 685  
 “ Unscathed forsooth this wretch shall Sparta see,  
 And fatherland Mycenæ ; house behold,  
 And sons and sires and wedlock, and a queen  
 In triumph go, by Ilian dames in crowds,  
 Lackeyed, and Phrygian serfs ; and by the sword 690  
 Priam have fallen ! and Troy been burnt with fire !  
 And sweat with blood so oft Dardania’s shore !  
 Never ; for though, by woman’s chastisement,  
 No name, of memory, won ; nor counted glorious  
 Such victory ; I shall be praised this sin 695  
 To have extinguished, and inflicted just pains :  
 ’Twill gratify, to have given my soul its fill  
 Of vengeance-flame, and glutted my kin’s cinders.”  
 With such ejaculation I was rushing  
 Infuriate, when, (not to mine ears so clear 700  
 Erst,) offered herself visible, and shone  
 In pure light mid the night, my bounteous parent,  
 Confest a Goddess, and such and so great  
 As to heaven’s wonners she is used appear ;  
 And with right hand me caught held, and thus, further,  
 Added with rosy mouth :—“ My son, what so  
 Great smart this ire ungoverned rouses ? Why  
 (e) Ragest ? or whither fled of us thy care ?  
 Wilt not first cast a look where thou hast left  
 Thine age-tired sire, Anchises ? if survives 710  
 Thy spouse Creusa, or thy boy Ascanius ?

(e) V. 595.—*Nostri*. Throughout not, *herself alone*, but *herself and*  
 the rest of her speech, Venus speaks *Anchises, and, perhaps, the other*  
 of herself in the singular number ; by *members of Eneas’s family*. See vers.  
 the plural *nostri* therefore she means, 740.

Whom round on all sides scour the Graian squadrons,  
And, but my care resisted, who had perished  
In the flames ere now, or by the foeman's sword.

Not Spartan Tyndaris' hated loveliness, 715

Nor inculpated Paris, but the Gods',

(f) The Gods' inclemency this opulent greatness

O'erturns, and, from its summit, prostrates Troy.

(g)(h) Behold! (for all, which, fore thee, as thou look'st,

Drawn, dulls thy mortal vision, and, damp, spreads 720

Darkness around, that cloud I will away snatch ;

Thou any bidding fear not, of thy parent,

Nor to her precepts, to obey refuse :)

Here, where thou see'st these flung-asunder masses,

These rocks from rocks away torn, and, with dust 725

Mixed, the smoke waving, Neptune shakes the walls,

And ground-works with his mighty trident emoved,

And from its seat o'ertumbles the whole city :

Here Juno's fiercest leading holds the Scaean,

(i) And furent, her bands sociate from the ships 730

Calls, sword-girt : on the highest citadel already

(k)(l) Tritonian (back thy look cast,) Pallas sits (m)

(f) V. 603.—*Opes*. See note, En. i. 364.

(g) V. 604.—*Aspice*, &c. Independently of the defence, of which Virgil's account of the taking of Troy is otherwise capable (see note, vers. 5), the poet, calling in the hostile Gods, and even Jupiter himself, to aid in the taking and destruction of the city, already (vers. 351,) deserted by its own Gods, seems to be invulnerably armed against the assaults of those critics, who, with Napoleon at their head (see note, vers. 5,) insist that his whole narrative is unstrategical, incredible, impossible.

(h) V. 604.—*Omnes, quae nunc..... nubem eripiam*. Here, as in several other places, (see vers. 471 and note; also vers. 552 and note,) I have endeavored to transfer to the English, not merely the meaning, but the very involution, of Virgil's words.

(i) V. 613.—*A navibus ; from the ships ; i. e. from the encampment beside the ships*, which, sciz. were drawn up on the strand. See note, vers. 30. Dryden, with his usual incorrectness :  
Urging on shore the tardy Grecian bands.

(k) V. 615.—*Respice*. The commentators, forgetting that Venus has just

(l) (m) For these references see next page.



(\*) Mistress; with nimb, effulgent, and stern Gorgon:  
Himself, the Sire, spirit and prosperous strength

taken away the cloud which dimmed Eneas's mortal vision, and told him to *behold with his eyes* (*Aspice*, vers. 604,) understand *respice* in its secondary or derived sense only. "*Respicere* ist nicht *aspicere*, das schon Gegenwärtige ansehen," Thiel; who, having thus told us what the meaning of the word is not, proceeds to say what its meaning is, sciz. "gib wohl Acht;" and, wholly un-mindful of the context, adds, "*Respice* konnte Venus sagen, ohne schon die Sache selbst zu zeigen." But Virgil knew better than to clog the action of his piece, at the most excited moment, with a weak admonition to *pay attention*, and makes Venus say, not "*merke wohl auf*" (Forgiber), but, (as *resperis*, Bucol. viii, 102; *resperit*, Georg. iv, 491, &c.) *Respice*, look behind thee, where *jam* (already) *Tritonian Pallas*, &c. Thus understood, *respice* has a true picturesque and dramatic effect, and corresponds exactly to *Aspice*, vers. 604; the meaning being, *Aspice*, see here before thee, Neptune overturning the walls and foundations of the city, and Juno calling on the enemy to the gates; and, *respice*, see there behind thee, *Pallas* already in possession of the citadel. It is singular, and almost incredible, yet, I think, true, that this is the meaning of *respicere*, in the very passage (En. iii, 593,) quoted by Thiel and Forgiber, to prove that its meaning in the passage before us is "*merke wohl auf*." For an instance, in which the commentators have made the precisely opposite mistake with respect to *aspicere*, see note, vers. 283.

(†) V. 615.—*Respice*. Observe the effective position of this word; sciz. immediately before the object to which it points, *Pallas*, and immediately after the words exciting expectation, *Jam summas arces, Tritonia*. See vers. 204, and note.

(\*) V. 616.—*Inseedit*. Dryden here, as at vers. 613, (where see note,) a more literal interpreter than wont, presents us with this *Virgilian* picture:—

See Pallas, of her snaky buckler proud,  
Bestrides the tower, refulgent through the cloud.

(\*) V. 616.—*Nimbo*. Here again, (our language possessing no terms distinctive of the different species of clouds,) I have been obliged, rather than misrepresent, or leave unexpressed, Virgil's meaning, to form a word from his own word. The *nimbus* is a circumscribed cloud, generally charged with hail, (En. v, 458); or thunder (En. ii, 113); or both (En. iv, 120); and, less frequent and formidable in the misty skies of these northern regions, well known and much dreaded under a clearer heaven, and in a warmer climate.

Sometimes the *nimbus* is small; "ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand" (I Kings, xviii, 44), and, like a racer, courier, or messenger, rapidly traverses the clear sky, from one side to the other. To such a *nimbus*, (sciz. on account of its direct and rapid motion,) racers leaving the goal are compared, En. v, 317; with such a *nimbus* Juno girds herself, when she descends from heaven to the Trojan camp (agens hiemem, *nimbo succincta*. En. x, 634): by such a *nimbus* Romulus is covered, and hid from the eyes of the bystanders, when he disappears from among men, (subito, coorta tempestas, cum magno fragore tonitribusque, tam denso regem operuit *nimbo*, ut conspectum ejus concioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Livy, i, 16); and in the midst of such a *nimbus* is Pallas, in the passage before us, manifested to Eneas, by the miraculous agency of Venus. The encounter of two such *nimbi* was, perhaps, the only natural object with

Suffices to the Danaï; himself

735

Raises the Gods against the Dardan arms:

which it was possible for Milton to have compared, without detracting from the dignity of either antagonist, the encounter of Death and Satan at the gates of hell:—

As when two black clouds,  
With heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on  
Over the Caspian; then stand front to front  
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow  
To join their dark encounter in mid air.

*Parad. Lost*, ii. 714.

Sometimes the *nimbus*, whether it be of separate formation, or produced by the coalition of several smaller *nimbi* into one, is so large as to cover the whole visible hemisphere. The darkness, produced by a *nimbus* of such magnitude, is equal to the darkness of night, and the hailstones or torrents of rain, which it discharges, destroy crops and roads, and carry away walls and bridges, and houses.

Quails ubi ad terras abrupto sidere *nimbus*,  
It mare per medium; miseris heu praecidia  
longè  
Horrescunt corda agricolis; dabit ille ruinas  
Arboribus, stragemque satis; ruet omnia laetè.  
*En.* xii, 451.

The damage occasioned by a vast *nimbus*, which, in 1788, traversed and ravaged a great part of France, has been estimated by M. Arago at 24,962,000 francs. See article Meteorology, in *Encycl. Metropol.*, vol. v, p. 129. See also *ibid.* p. 150, et seq., for a philosophical account of *nimbi*, chiefly extracted from the essay, read by Mr. Howard before the Aakesian society, 1802—3.

Servius and some other commentators have thought, that the *nimbus*, in the passage before us, is the *halo*, *glory*, or *luminous circle*, with which, in ancient no less than modern times, the heads of deities and eminent personages were represented surrounded. From this opinion, however, I must wholly dissent; 1st. Because I am not aware of any classical authority for the use of *nimbus* in this sense. 2ndly.

Because, however suitable a *luminous halo* might have been to Pallas under other circumstances, it would have been wholly unsuitable here, where it is plainly the intention of the poet to represent the Goddess clad in her terrors. It was not the *mild, graceful, and benignant halo*, but the *storm-cloud, terrific in its appearance, and devastating in its effects*, which would harmonise with the *Gorgon*. Even if otherwise suitable, the *halo* would have been but a poor, unmeaning, scarcely noticeable additament, in the midst of the burning city, and other grand objects surrounding. 3rdly. Because where, as already quoted, Juno descends from heaven, *nimbo succincta*, the *nimbus* is not the *halo*, but the *storm-cloud*, as is placed beyond doubt by the immediately adjoining *agens hiemem*, and the subsequent (vv. 664, 5,) *nudi atrae et turbo*.

If it be objected, that the *nimbus* of Pallas was not, like that of Juno, *stormy and black*, but *effulgent*; I reply, 1st. That a *nimbus*, consisting (like any other cloud,) only of perfectly transparent, colorless, particles, has no color except that which it derives from other objects, either by transmission or reflection; that its usual blackness depends altogether on its usual position between the beholder and the sun; and that, when placed in such a position as to reflect the rays of the sun to the beholder, it may appear not only luminous, but even colored. 2ndly. That the *nimbus* of Juno, in the passage above quoted, is correctly represented as *black*, because being immediately above the heads of the Trojans, it intercepted the light of the sun, or at least that of the sky: and 3rdly. That Virgil (*a*) could not represent the *nimbus* of Pallas as *black*, because there was no light, either of the sun, or sky, whose interception

Then snatch swift flight my son ; end to thy toil put :  
 I will be absent never, and will place thee  
 Safe on patern sill." Into night's thick shades,  
 (o) This said, she derved : the faces dire appear, 740  
 And great Gods' deities unfriend to Troy.

' Meseemed all Ilium then indeed to sink  
 In fire, and from its base to be o'eturned  
 (p) Neptunian Troy : as, in the high mountains, hinds  
 Urge, emulous, to fell some ancient ash, 745  
 Accised with frequent axe-iron bipennate :  
 It threatens still, and trembles with its hair,

might cause it to appear so; and (b) was under the necessity (even if it had not been, otherwise, what was precisely most suitable to the action of his drama,) to represent it, as luminous *essentially*, or *per se*, for the very same reason as he had previously represented Venus herself as refulgent *purâ in luce*, sciz. in order to afford some explanation how Eneas was enabled (even after his eyes had been miraculously opened,) to discern the object at all. Or, to make my meaning clearer; it being night when Eneas's eyes were opened, the objects, which Venus wished him to see, could not be discerned, unless they were either luminous in themselves, or illuminated by a supernatural day; but the production of a supernatural day, for the purpose of exhibiting a few objects, not only was unnecessary, but would have been ineffectual and even absurd, because Eneas's attention would have been distracted by the multitude of indifferent objects, presented to his view at once. The poet, therefore, renders the objects visible by the simplest, shortest, and most effectual contrivance, sciz. by making them luminous *per se*. He does not, indeed, specify the luminous-

ness of *all* the objects, thus presented miraculously to Eneas's view, the *ratio poetica* not requiring so great particularity; but, having specified and explained with respect to one, leaves the reader to apply that explanation to the rest.

Wagner's *rationale* of the effulgence of Pallas's *nimbus*, sciz. *that it was produced by the reflection of the flames of the city*, however it might have been accepted, if the *nimbus* had been real, is not only absurd, as applied to an unreal and visionary *nimbus*, visible to Eneas alone, but altogether unworthy of the grandeur of the scene and epopee.

The nature of the *nimbus* being such as described above, the reader will perceive the propriety with which Virgil (En. i. 51. et seq.,) assigns to the *nimbi* and the *tempestates* a common country, and a common king.

For a similar instance of a cloud luminous *per se*, see En. vii. 142.

(o) V. 621. — *Condidit*. See note, vers. 401.

(p) V. 626. — *Summis....in montibus*. Somewhere on, or among, the high mountains, the precise situation being fixed by the subsequent *jugis*. See third note, vers. 631.

And nods its concussed top, then wound-subdued

(q)(r) Gradual, hath groaned its loud last, and, avulsed,

(s) On the high slope hath ruined. I descend, 750

And by the leading Goddess, twixt the flames

(t) Am expedite, and foes; the weapons give

Room, and the flames retire; but, when whole way

Arrived the precinct of the ancient seat,

And home patern, my sire, whom, 'tis my wish, first,

To bear to the lofty mountains, and whom first

I seek, nays absolute to outlive Troy's rase,

And suffer exile:—"Ye, of unimpaired

Young blood," he says, "whose solid vigor stands

(q) V. 631.—*Congemuit*; not merely groaned, but groaned loudly; as it were with all its force collected into one last effort. See note, En. ii, 50.

(r) V. 631.—*Avulsa*. The process of felling (*eruer*) a tree, commenced by hewing the tree partially through, near the root, (*accisam*), is completed by breaking it off, and tearing it away (*avulsa*), from the stump, sciz. by means of a rope put round its upper part.

The tree being torn, not from the *juga*, but from its own stump, the structure is, not *avulsa jugis*, but *trazit jugis ruinam*, fell there on the *juga*.

(s) V. 631.—*Jugis*. *Jugum montis*, or *jugum collis*, so called, as I have no doubt, from its resemblance to the *jugum* (yoke or saddle,) of a harness, is strictly, any part of the superficies of a hill or mountain, which joins (yokes,) the slope by which the mountain is ascended on the one side, with the slope by which it is descended on the other. In a less strict sense, the term is applied to the slopes themselves, (the limits between them and the top being frequently very indiscernible), and to any protuberance, ridge, or brow, except the vertex, to which, as bearing no resemblance to a yoke, or

saddle, the term is never applied, and from which Livy has expressly distinguished the *jugum*; *Ni jugo circummissus Vejens in verticem collis evasisset*. ii, 50. This term once rightly understood, we are in a condition to perceive the full picturesque force of the expression, *trazit jugis ruinam*, in the passage before us; of *per juga Cynthi*, En. i, 498; *Dum juga montis aper..... amabit*. Bucol. v, 76; *Mollique jugum demittere clivo*. Bucol. ix, 8. *Erravere jugis*. En. xi, 135. *Immensis jugis tumet Ida*. Ovid. Epist. v, 138; and numerous other passages, in which the term occurs; also to understand why the Roman historians describe the *juga montium* and *juga collium*, as so frequently affording advantageous positions, not only to small bodies of soldiers, but even (Livy. xlv, 2,) to large armies.

The English language, so much more, than has been usually supposed, defective in copiousness than the Latin, has no term, nor so much even as a periphrasis, to express this favorite complex idea of the Latin poets and historians.

(t) V. 633.—*Expedior*. See note, vers. 299.

Self-strong, fly ye : me had heaven's habitants 760  
 Willed to live on, they had preserved to me  
 This home ; enough, more than enough, we have seen  
 One rasure, once survived the captive city ;  
 Bid to my corpse thus, O ! thus placed, farewell,  
 And go : I, with my hand, will find death ; the enemy  
 Will pity, and seek spoils ; the loss I reck not,  
 Of sepulchre : hateful to heaven, and useless,  
 Long years I clog, since when the sire of Gods,  
 (u) And king of men, blew on me with the blast,  
 And touched me with the levin, of his thunder." 770  
 So he persists assevering, and remains  
 Immovable / we, contrary, in tears  
 Are effused, spouse Creusa, and Ascanius,  
 And the whole house, that, with himself, the sire  
 Would not o'erturn all, and make more to press 775  
 Fate's pressure : he nays peremptory ; adheres  
 To his begin and same seat : I to arms  
 Again rush ; and, most miserable, wish  
 Death ; for what counsel now allowed, or fortune ?  
 " And hast expected, sire, that I one foot 780  
 Could stir, thou left behind ? or hath so great  
 Sin from paternal mouth fallen ? if Heaven pleases  
 Of so great city should be left no remnant,  
 And this sits in thy mind fixed, and to add  
 Thyself and thine to perishing Troy agrees thee, 785  
 The way lies open to that death ; and straight  
 From Priam's much blood Pyrrhus will be here,  
 Who kills, before the father's face, the son,

(u) V. 649.—*Fulminis afflavit ventis*, unintelligible opposition between *fulmi-*  
*et contigit igni*. Referring *igni* (along *nis* and *igni*, created by those who con-  
 with *ventis*), to *fulminis*, we avoid the fine the words to two distinct sentences.

The father at the altar. Was it then  
 For this, O bounteous mother ! that through weapons  
 And flames thou snatchest me, that I may see  
 In midmost penetral the foe, may see  
 Ascanius, and my sire, and by their side  
 Creusa, butchered, each in the other's blood ?  
 Bring arms, ye brave, bring arms ; the last day calls  
 The conquered ; give me to the Danaï back ;  
 Let me again the instaurated battle  
 Visit ; never shall all of us to-day  
 Die unrevenged." Here, am I with the sword  
 Again girt, and my left, adapted, arm 800  
 Was in the shield inserting, and the house forth  
 Rushing, but, lo ! upon the sill, my wife  
 Clung, my feet clasping, and the little Iulus  
 Stretched to his sire :—" Part'st thou to die, us too  
 Snatch with thee into all haps ; but, experienced, 805  
 Placest, in arms assumed, some hope, this house  
 Protect first : little Iulus to whom left ?  
 To whom thy sire ; and I, erst called thy wife ?"

' As, with such groan, Creusa, the whole house,  
 Vociferous, filled, arose a sudden portent, 810  
 Miraculous to tell ; for, mid the hands,  
 And fore the very face of his sad parents,  
 Behold ! from tip-top of Iulus' head,  
 (v)(x)A weightless apex seemed to pour a flood

(v) V. 683.—*Fundere lumen apex*.... nomenon, luminous at the centre, and  
*Lambere flamma comas*. Not two dis- *flammeous at the circumference*. See  
 tinct phenomena, one, a stalk, or tige, note, En. ii, 522.  
 of light, and the other, a flame licking (x) V. 683.—*Apex*.....*innoxia*.....  
 the hair ; but, (*flamma* being placed in *Lambere flamma*. Ἰλῆσσαί ὡς ἐν πυρὶ.  
 apposition with *apex*), one single phe- Acts of the Apostles, ii, 3.

- Of light around, and, with innoxious flame, 815  
 Lick his soft hair, and feed about his temples.  
 Pavid with fear we flurry, and the blazing  
 Locks haste to shake, and, with the fount, to extinguish  
 The holy fire ; but to the stars Anchises  
 Sire hath his eyes in joy lift, and palms stretched 820
- (γ) With voice, toward heaven :—" Almighty Jupiter,  
 If any prayers may bend thee, look upon us,  
 Look only ; and if, pious, we deserve so,  
 Then, father, give thine aid, and ratify  
 These omens." Scarce had spoke these words the senior,  
 When, on the left, with sudden crash it thundered,
- (δ) And, from the sky elapsed, a star, torch-trailing,  
 With much light through the shade ran ; we behold it,
- (α) Gliding above the highest roof-top, plunge  
 Bright in the Idaean wood, marking our way ; 830  
 Its furrow then, long-limited, gives light,

(γ) V. 689.—*Jupiter omnipotens*, &c. Observe the words, *Jupiter omnipotens*, (expressive of the power to relieve, even in so desperate an extremity,) joined to all the verbs in the sentence ; the word *pater*, (moving to exert that power,) joined only to the immediate prayer of the petition, *Da deinde auxilium, atque haec omnia firma*.

(δ) V. 694.—*Stella.....Signantemque vias*. Καὶ ἰδὼν, ὁ ἄστρον, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, προῆγεν αὐτοὺς, ἕως ἰδῶν ἱερὰν ἱεράν οὐ ἦν τὸ πᾶσι. Matth. ii, 9.

In *Saunders's News-Letter*, of July 25, 1844, there is, in an extract from a letter, the following account of a meteor, seen almost on the same spot, and presenting precisely the same appearances as that seen by Eneas :—

"CONSTANTINOPLE, JULY 3.—On Sunday last, five minutes before sunset, we had a splendid sight here. The atmosphere was hazy, but without

cloud. Thermometer about 90°. An immense meteor, like a gigantic Congreve rocket, darted, with a rushing noise, from east to west. Its lightning course was marked by a streak of fire, and, after a passage of some forty or fifty degrees, it burst like a bombshell, but without detonation ; lighting up the hemisphere with the brilliancy of the noon-day sun. On its disappearance, a white vapour remained in its track, and was visible for nearly half an hour. Everybody thought it was just before his eyes, but it was seen by persons twelve and fifteen miles to the northward, in the same apparent position, and positively the self-same phenomenon. Many of the vulgar look upon it as a very bad omen, whilst others attribute it to the warm weather, which continues. The thermometer stands, at this moment, at 91° in the shade, and in the coolest spot could be selected."

(α) V. 696.—*Condere*. See note, vers. 401.

And wide the places round fume sulphurous.  
 Vanquished the sire then toward the open air  
 Rises; the Gods addresses; and adores  
 The holy star:—"Now, now there is no hindrance; 835  
 I follow, and, where'er ye lead, am present;

- (b) Gods of my Fathers, save my family,  
 My grandson save; yours is this augury,  
 And in your guardage Troy; I yield indeed,  
 Nor to go comrade with thee, son, refuse." 840  
 When he had thus said, clearer through the city  
 Already is the flame heard, nearer rolls  
 Its heat the conflagration:—"Father, dear,  
 Come then, upon my neck be placed; myself  
 Will undergo with shoulders; nor will that 845  
 Toil irk: tide what tide may, one common risk  
 Befalls us twain, one safety: little Iulus  
 Shall be my comrade, and afar my wife  
 Keeps in my footsteps: menials, hear, and mark;  
 Greeting the traveller from the city, stands 850  
 Not distant far, the tumulus, and old  
 Fane of deserted Ceres; and, close by,  
 An ancient cypress, by our ancestors'  
 Piety preserved through many a bygone year;  
 That trysting-place by different routes we reach. 855  
 Thou, father, in thy hand, the holy gear  
 Take, and our sires' Penates; I, from fresh  
 Carnage of so great battle, touch not, sinless,

(b) V. 702.—*Servate domum*. *Domum* is here, not *dwelling-house*, because Anchises is leaving his dwelling-house in the certainty of its being destroyed by the Greeks, but, either *family*, as *omnis domus*, vers. 652; or *race, lineage*, as *domus Assaraci*, En. i, 284. The thought is carried on, and completed in the succeeding *nepotem*, sciz. the hope of the *family*, or *lineage*.



Before ablution in the living stream."

This said, with vest and tawny lion's pell 860

My shoulders broad and bended nape are spread,

And I take on my burden ; little Iulus

Links in my right hand, and with shorter steps

Follows his sire ; my wife comes on behind :

Through parts opaque we bear ; and me, whom late 865

No showering missiles ruffled, nor adverse

Glomerate of Graian troop, now every air

Frights, every sound alarms ; suspense, and fearful

Alike for my companion and my load.

(c) And now the gates I neared, and the whole way 870

Seemed to have made good, when a frequent foot-tramp

Close to our ears seemed, sudden ; and the sire,

Onward, the shade through, looking, " Son," exclaims,

" Flee, son ; they are approaching : I discern

The blazing bucklers, and the glancing brass." 875

Here, from me trepidant some power malign

Reft the dazed wit ; for, as beyond the road's

(d) Known line, my course, through tracklessness I follow,

(e) Ah ! by a wretched fate snatched, whether stopped

(c) V. 731.—*Evasisse*. See note, vers. 458.

(d) V. 737.—*Regione viarum*. *Regio*, here, (as well as in the numerous other instances in which it is joined with *via* by Latin authors,) is taken, not in its derived sense of *region*, or *district*, but in its primitive sense, of *line*, or *direction*. This primitive sense of *regio*, wholly omitted by the other Latin lexicographers, is thus defined by Gesner, in his excellent *Thesaurus*. "*Regio, dicta a regendo ; linea, mente concepta, quâ vel indicamus loca, ut plagas, ventos, orientem, aquilonem ;*

*vel circumscribimus, ut terminis et finibus.*" Virgil's commentators seem to have been equally ignorant of the primitive sense of *regio*, and of its being always used in the primitive sense when joined with *via*.

(e) V. 738.—*Heu ! misero conjux*, &c. I join *misero*, not, (with Heyne and the other commentators,) to *mihi* understood, but to *futo* ;

1st. Because it were unnecessary, and, therefore, egotistical, in *Enëas* so soon to repeat the expression of his grief, already sufficiently expressed in

- Creusa spouse, or devious strayed, or down 880  
 (7) Sate tired, is doubt; nor was she to our eyes  
 Restored thereafter; nor upon our loss  
 Cast I look backward, or reflective thought,  
 Ere to the tumultus and sacred seat  
 Arrived of ancient Ceres: to us, here 885  
 At last collected all, wants only her,  
 Deceptive of companions, son, and husband.  
 Whom, man or God, upbraided I not, raving?  
 What crueller saw I in the everted city?  
 Ascanius, sire Anchises, and the Teucrian 890  
 (9) Penates, to my sociates I commend,

the word, *Heu*! in itself equivalent to *Heu me miserum*!

2ndly. If *misero* belong to *mihi* understood, Virgil represents Eneas as lamenting the loss of Creusa altogether on his own account, without a single expression of sympathy for Creusa's own suffering and misfortune; *quod incredibile*.

3rdly. In the accurate language of Virgil, (see note, vers. 552,) *erepta mihi misero* would mean *snatched from me, thereby rendered wretched at the very instant*; which does not agree with the fact, that Creusa was not missed until some time afterwards.

The words *Misero futo erepta* belong equally to the three verbs, *substitit*, *erravit*, and *lassa resedit*, expressive of the three most probable causes of Creusa's having been *misero futo erepta*; either, sciz. that she had stopped, (not *wishing*, for some reason or other, to proceed further); or that she had strayed; or that, wearied, and not able to proceed further, she had sat down.

This, perhaps, is the proper place to observe, that there seems to be no ground whatever for the charge which has so frequently been brought against

Eneas, that he deserted, or at least neglected, his wife. It was necessary to divide the party, in order the better to escape observation by the Greeks, and not only the greater imbecility of, but stronger natural tie to, the father and the child, rendered it imperative to bestow the first and chief care on them. If Eneas's direction that Creusa should keep, not merely *behind*, but *far behind* (*longe servet vestigia conjux*), excite animadversion, I beg to suggest, that it was indispensable that the separation should be to some considerable distance, not merely in order to ensure its being effectual for the purpose above mentioned, but in order to afford Creusa herself the chance of escape, in case of the miscarriage of those who led the way.

(7) V. 740.—*Oculis....nostris*. Not, to Eneas's own eyes, but, to the eyes of the party. See note, vers. 595.

(9) V. 748.—*Commendo sociis*, &c. The *epexegetis* occurs no less than four times within the space of the seven following lines. (a) *Commendo sociis, et curvâ valle recondo*, not, *commend to my sociates, and then hide in a*

- (h) And, plunged in curved vale, hide ; myself in arms  
 Fulgent am girt, and seek again the city ;  
 Resolved all chances to renew, through all  
 Troy to return, and to the risks again 895  
 My head present. The walls first I reseek,  
 And dark gate-threshold, where my steps had out-passed ;  
 And I observe, and, backward with mine eye  
 Tracing, my foot-marks follow through the night :  
 Horror on all sides, even the very silence 900  
 Appals the soul : thence home ; if thither, chance,  
 If chance she had returned ; the Danaï  
 Had rushed into, and occupy the whole house :
- (i) Instant, the fire devouring, to the highest
- (k) Roof-slope is by the wind rolled ; overmaster 905  
 The flames, and rage and estuate to the air :

*curved valley, but, having first hid, &c. then commend, &c. (b) Ipse urbem repeto, et cingor fulgentibus armis ; not, reseek the city, and then am girt, &c., but, first am girt, &c., and then reseek the city. (c) Stat casus renovare omnes, &c., not, Am resolved to renew all chances, and then return, &c. but, Am resolved to renew all chances, by returning, &c. (d) Principio muros, &c., not, first seek the walls, &c., and then trace back my foot-marks ; but, trace back my foot-marks to the walls, &c.*

(h) V. 748.—*Recondo*. See note, vers. 401.

(i) V. 758.—*Ilicet ignis edax, &c.* Observe the accuracy of description ; 1st. The term *edax*, (*devouring, or consumptive of material,*) is applied not to the *flammae*, or the *aestus*, but, with great precision, to the *ignis*, or fire properly so called. 2ndly. The *ignis edax* (*consuming fire*), which could not exist where there was

nothing to consume, is, with equal precision, represented as carried only *summa ad fastigia*. 3rdly. The *flammae*, (*flames of the fire,*) *exsuperant*, (*overtop,*) the *summa fastigia*. 4thly. The *aestus*, *estuation*, (*seething and crackling,*) *furit ad auras*, (*rages not only above the actual ignis, but to the utmost limits of, and, if it can be so imagined, above the over-topping flammae.*) 5thly. The action of the wind, which, according to the well-known principles of modern science, is favorable and necessary to the development and progress of *combustion (ignis)*, but unfavorable to, and destructive of, *flames and heat considered separately from the combustion*, is, with surprising fidelity to nature, limited by the poet to the *ignis edax*. See note, vers. 552.

(k) V. 759.—*Exsuperant flammae ; furit aestus ad auras*.

Die Flamme prasselnd schon zum Himmel schlug.

Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, Act v.

- Thence, onward, to the citadel again,  
 And Priam's seat : and now in Juno's void  
 Asylum-porticoes, selected guards,  
 Phoenix and dire Ulysses, watched the booty : 910  
 Hither, from every side, the wealth of Troy,  
 Torn from the burning shrines, is heaped together,  
 And tables of the Gods, and solid gold  
 Goblets, and captive raiment ; boys, around,  
 And pavid mothers stand, in long array. 915  
 Even dared I voices through the shade to fling ;  
 I filled the streets with shout, and sorrowful,  
 (l) Again, again, in vain redoubling, called  
 Creusa. To me, as I searched, and through  
 The city's houses endless raged, appeared, 920  
 Before mine eyes, the hapless simulachre,  
 And shadow of Creusa self, and image  
 Larger than known ; and, as I stood aghast,  
 With bristling hair, and voice cleaved to my throat,  
 In care-unloading words me thus addressed :— 925  
 “ Of what avail, O sweet spouse, so to indulge  
 An insane grief ? not, without Heaven's will, these  
 (m) Happen ; nor suffers thee, His ordinance,

(l) V. 769.—*Creusam Nequidquam ingeminans*, &c. Compare Orpheus calling on Eurydice, in the fourth Georgic, and Pope's fine imitation :—

Eurydice the woods,  
 Eurydice the floods,  
 Eurydice the rocks, and hollow mountains, rung.

(m) V. 778.—*Nec te comitem portare Creusam Fas ; aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi*. This sentence consists of two clauses, the former of which, ending at *fas*, declares that it is not lawful for Eneas to bear Creusa

with him as his companion ; the second explains why it is not ; viz., because contrary to the will of the supreme ruler of Olympus. This is according to Virgil's usual method, of first presenting his reader with the general idea, and afterwards explaining and particularising ; see notes, vv. 18 and 51 ; also, note, En. i, 496. Wunderlich, Wagner, and those other critics, who, adopting the suggestion of Heinsius, and placing only a comma at *fas*, refer that word to *sinit*, and not

Who rules supern Olympus, comrade hence  
 To bear Creusa : exile long is thine, 930  
 And to be ploughed a champaign vast of sea ;  
 And to the land Hesperian thou shalt come,  
 (n)(o)Amid the opime fields of whose sons where flows, (p)

to *est* understood, (a) substitute for Virgil's poetical structure the prosaic structure of an ordinary writer, and, (b) by uniting *fas* to *regnator* by means of the copulative *aut*, make it necessary to understand *fas* as something distinct and separate from the *will* of Jupiter, contrary to the well-known religious doctrine of the Romans, that *fas* was nothing more nor less than the *declared will* of that deity. As I could not transfer the structure of the Latin sentence into the translation, without the, almost, certainty of leading the reader into the error, committed by the above-mentioned eminent scholars, viz., that of supposing that there were two distinct obstacles to Eneas's carrying Creusa with him, *fas*, and *the will of Jupiter*, I have followed the English idiom; and expressed, in a sentence consisting only of a single clause, the meaning of the two clauses of the Latin sentence, sciz. that the *fas*, which prevented Eneas to take Creusa with him, was *the will, ordinance, or decree of Jupiter*.

(n) V. 781.—*Ubi Lydius, arva Inter opima viram, leni fluit agmine Tybris.*

Wo jetzt die Muotta zwischen Wiesen rinnt.  
 Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, Act II.

(o) V. 781.—*Arva...opima.* "Fruitful fields," Surrey. *Opimus* is, not fruitful, but, in *prime condition*; in that condition, sciz. of which fruitfulness is the consequence. Land is *opima* (in *prime condition, or of the best quality*,) before it bears, and even before the seed is put into it; it is not fruitful until it bears. *Opimus* has precisely the same meaning when

applied to animals; viz., in *prime condition*; not, as incorrectly stated by Gesner, Forcellini, and all lexicographers, *fat*; *fatness* being only one of the qualities necessary to entitle an animal to be styled *opimus*. This primitive sense of *opimus*, (to which its meanings, in the expressions *spolia opima, opima facundia*, &c., are but secondary,) is expressed in French by the phrase *en bon point*. The English language possessing no term corresponding to *opimus*, I have thought it better to form a word directly from the Latin, than to misrepresent Virgil's meaning, by the use of an inadequate term.

Dryden has his reward with the English reader, for giving himself no trouble about such niceties, but substituting at once, for the Virgilian thought, whatever idea, suited *ad captum vulgi*, came first into his mind.

Where gentle Tyber from his bed beholds  
 The flowery meadows, and the feeding folds.

Virgil is innocent of all but the first three words.

See next note.

(p) V. 781.—*Arva Inter opima viram.* With Heyne I refer *viram* to *arva*, and not, with Burmann and Forcellini, to *opima*.

1st. Because Virgil, on the other occasions on which he has used the word *opimus*, has used it absolutely.

2ndly. Because *opimus*, in the forty examples of its use quoted by the industry of Forcellini, stands absolute in thirty-eight, and only in two is connected with a case, which case is not the genitive, but the ablative.

3rdly. Because, even although it had

With soft march, Lydian Tyber ; for thee, there,  
Prosperity provided, and a kingdom,

935

(g) And royal spouse : drive off these tears for chosen-

(r) Beloved Creusa : I, a Dardanis ;

Of Goddess Venus, by my marriage, daughter ;

Shall not the proud seats Myrmidon behold,

Or of the Dolops ; or to Graian dame

940

Go bonds slave ; but me in these coasts detains

The great God-genetrix : and now, farewell,

And the love cherish of our common son."

(s)(t) When she had thus said, she deserted me

been the practice of Virgil, or of other good authors, to join *opimus* to the genitive, the phrase *opima virum* were neither elegant nor poetic.

4thly. Because *opima*, taken absolutely, is in perfect unison with the plain intention of the apparition, sciz. to recommend Hesperia to Eneas ; taken in connection with *virum*, contradicts that intention, a country being the less eligible to new settlers, in the direct ratio in which it is already *opima virum*.

See preceding note.

(g) V. 784. — *Dilectae ..... Creusae*. *Dilectae* ; not merely loved, but loved by choice or preference ; an exact knowledge of the meaning of this word enables us to observe the consolation, which Creusa ministers to herself, in the delicate opposition of *dilectae Creusae* to *regia conjux Parta*.

(r) V. 785. — *Non ego Myrmidonum sedes, &c.*

*Cleop.* Know, sir, that I  
Will not wait pinioned at your master's court,  
Not once be chastised with the sober eye  
Of dull Octavia. Shall they hoist me up,  
And show me to the shouting varletry,  
Of censuring Rome ? &c.

*Anton. & Cleop., Act. v, Sc. 2.*

(s) V. 790. — *Haec ubi dicta dedit, &c.*

This having said, she left me all in tears,  
And minding much to speak ; but she was gone,

And subtly fled into the weightless air. [neck :  
Thrice taught I with mine arms to accoll her  
Thrice did my hands' vain hold the image escape,  
Like nimble winds, and like the flying dream.  
So, night spent out, return I to my feres :  
And there, wondering, I find together swarmed  
A new number of mates, mothers, and men ;  
A rout exiled, a wretched multitude,  
From each-where flock together, prest to pass  
With heart and goods, to whatsoever land  
By sliding seas, me listed them to lead.  
And now rose Lucifer above the ridge  
Of lusty Ide, and brought the dawning light ;  
The Greeks held the entries of the gates beset :  
Of help there was no hope. Then gave I place,  
Took up my sire, and hasted to the hill.

Such are the concluding words of Surrey's translation of the second book of the Eneis ; such the sweet, chaste voice, which the bloody axe of an obscene and ruffian king silenced for ever, at the age of thirty ; *Diis aliter visum*. And this, let the reader observe, is blank verse in its cradle, before it has acquired the sinewy strength, the manly dignity, the high, chivalrous port, of Shakspeare and Milton. Let him, further, compare these lines with the corresponding *rhymes* of Dryden, and then hear with astonishment, (astonishment at the unequal rewards of human deservings,) that Surrey's biographer (Dr. Nott) deems it praise, to compare him with that coarse and reckless

(1) For this reference see next page.

Weeping, and many things to say desiring,

945

(u) And into thin air withdrew : round her neck

Thrice, where I stood, I strove mine arms to throw ;

Thrice, from my frustrate grasp, light as the wind,

Swift as a fleeting dream, the form escaped.

‘ So to my comrades I return at last,

950

The night now spent ; and here, admiring, find

Vast number had flowed in of new companions ;

Matrons, and men, and youth for exile gathered,

A miserable crowd ; from every side

They have convened, with heart, prepared, and substance,

To whate’er lands, I list, by sea, to lead.

(x) And now, o’er Ida’s high’st slopes, Lucifer,

Rising, led on the day ; the Danaï held

The gates blockaded, and all hope was lost :

I yield ; my sire uplift ; and seek the mountains.’\* 960

writer ; and that Dr. Johnson, and even Milton, was so little aware, not of his merits only, but almost of his existence, that the former writes in his life of Milton, “The Earl of Surrey is said (*is said!*) to have translated one of Virgil’s books without rhyme ;” and the latter (Preface to *Paradise Lost*) claims for his great poem the (perhaps) only praise to which it is not entitled, that it is “the first example in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming.” See observations on *Phaer’s Aeneados*, in the second note, En. ii, 272.

(i) V. 791.—*Deseruit*. Observe the tender reproach contained in this word ; observe, also, that it is spoken, not of Creusa, (on whom the exquisite judgment of the poet is careful not to throw even the shadow of an imputation), but of the apparition, against

which it falls harmless, while at the same time it expresses the bereavement of Eneas, and his affection towards his wife, as strongly, nay more strongly, than if it had been spoken directly of Creusa herself. How the word must have sounded in the ears of Dido ! *Deseruit ; deserted ;* therefore left him free to form a new attachment.

(u) V. 792.—*Ter conatus ibi*.

Tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinsi,  
E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.

*Dante. Purgat. ii, 80.*

(x) V. 801.—*Jugis*. See third note, vers. 631.

\* The Davideis, that wild, unequal, and irregular, but highly poetic, effusion of the neglected Cowley, is a paraphrase, and, in many places, almost a translation, of the two first books of the *Eneis*.

## ADDENDA TO THE NOTES.

EN. i. V. 1.—*At nunc horrentia Martis Arma, virumque cano, &c.*

Canto l'armi pietose, e l' Capitano,  
Che l' gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo :  
Molto egli oprò col senno, e con la mano,  
Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto ;  
E in van l'Inferno a lui s' oppose, e in vano  
S'armò, ecc. \* \* \*  
O Misa, tu, ecc. \* \* \*

Tasso, *Gerusa. Lib. 1, 1.*

EN. i. V. 225.—*Vertice caeli.* The highest part, or *arx*, of heaven ; where (sciz. because the palace of the earthly king was always seated on the *arx* of the city, see En. ii, 760 ; 2 Samuel, v. 9), the poets, necessarily taking their notions of heavenly, from the corresponding earthly objects, placed the palace of the Gods. See below, note, En. i, 250.

On looking at the translation again, I perceive that I have accidentally omitted to translate the words, sic vertice caeli.

EN. i. V. 250.—*Caeli....arcem.* Not, the high place, sciz. heaven, but the high place, or high part, or citadel, of heaven ; where, as appears from Ovid, the poets located the palace of the superior Gods.

Quae pater ut summa vidit Saturnus arce,

Dextra laevaque Deorum  
Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.  
Plebs habitant diversa locis. A fronte potentes  
Caecilcolae, clarique, suos posuere Penates.  
Hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,  
Hand timesam magni dixisse Palatia caeli.

Metam. i. 163.

See above, note, En. i, 225.

EN. i. 592.—*Quale manus &c.* If further argument be necessary to prove, that it is to Eneas's yellow hair that the yellow gold is compared in this simile, I beg to refer to an exactly corresponding simile, where the whiteness of the skin is, as here, compared to ivory, and the yellow hair to the

shining gold. It is in the elegant canonet, generally attributed to Cornelius Gallus, and printed along with his elegies :—

Lydia, bella puella, candida  
Quae bene superas lac et liliū,  
Albamque simul rosam rubidam,  
Aut expolitur ebur Indicum ;  
Pande, puella, pande capitulos  
Flavos, lucentes ut aurum nitidum.

A similar comparison is also made by Ariosto :—

Di persona era tanto ben formata,  
Quanto me' finger san pittori industri ;  
Con bionda chioma lunga ed annodata :  
Oro non è che più risplenda e lustri.  
Orland. Fur. vii, 11.

So also Tasso's Armida :—

Torse in anella i crin' minuti, e in esse,  
Quasi smalto sù l'or, consparsi i fiori.  
Gerusa. Lib. xvi, 23.

EN. i. V. 636.—*Munera laetitiamque dei.* This uncompleted line plainly appearing to me to be the uncompleted translation of the line—

Οἷα Διὰ νύκτος δὲν' ἀνδράσι χάσμα—  
Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, vers. 400.

I have adopted the ordinary reading, *dei*, and the ordinary interpretation ; and cordially concur with the arguments of Forbiger for that reading and interpretation, and against the reading and interpretation proposed by Aulus Gellius, and supported by Heyne, Brunck, Jahn, Wagner, and Thiel.

EN. ii, V. 83.—*Falsa sub prodicione Pelasgi.* My interpretation of this passage is remarkably confirmed by the express and strong distinction, made by Ovid, between the party who *accused*, and the party who *condemned* Palamedes :—

An falso Palameden crimine turpe  
Accusasse mihi (sciz. Ulysses), vobis (sciz. Pelasgi)  
damnassee decorum est ?  
Metam. xiii, 308.



EN. ii. V. 85.—*Cassum lumine*. The exactly corresponding expression, *Luce carentum*, (Georg. iv, 472), *Qui hac luce careant*, (Cic. Tusc. i, 6,) shows that *cassum lumine* is, simply, *carentem lumine* (*die*), i. e. *dead*.

EN. ii. V. 217.—*Spiris*. With a similar correct precision, our own Milton applies the term *spires* to the coils of the serpent when *erect*, or *raised upright*.

Not with indented wave  
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear.

With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect  
Amidst his circling *spires*.

*Par. Lost*, ix, 496.

EN. ii. V. 631.—*Traxitque jugis .... ruinam*. I beg to add, as an additional argument for the junction of *jugis* with *traxitque*, that its junction with *avulsa*, necessitating a pause after *traxitque*, wholly destroys the cadence of the verse, which must then be read thus—

Congemuit—traxitque—jugis avulsa—ruinam.  
How unlike

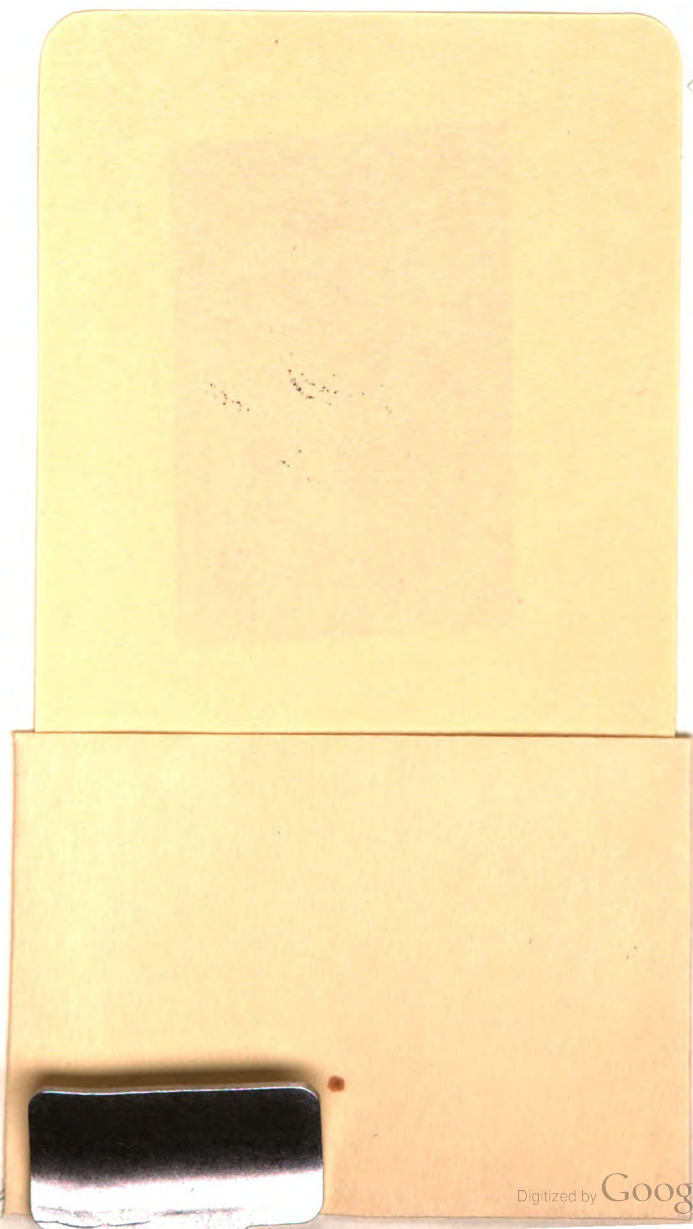
Congemuit—traxitque jugis—avulsa—ruinam.  
This argument were, I think, alone sufficient to determine the structure, and, with the structure, the meaning. For a similar *absolute* use of *avulsus*, see EN. iii, 575; ix, 490.

## END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

### ERRATA.

- Page 7. Notes, 2nd col. line 4 from top, for "devaricating" read "divaricating."  
 — 7. Notes, 2nd col. line 20 from top, for "verum" read "virtum."  
 — 21. Notes, 2nd col. line 4 from bottom, for "parrallel" read "parallel."  
 — 27. Notes, 1st col. line 1, for "Nausica" read "Nausicaa."  
 — 34. Line 546, for "Assauging" read "Assuaging."  
 — 35. Line 578, for "sparkled locks" read "locks dishevelled."  
 — 43. Line 748, for "fruitful" read "optime." (See note, EN. ii, 782.)  
 — 47. Notes, 2nd col. line 5 from top, for "V. 496 and note" read "EN. i. 496; ii, 408; and notes."  
 — 61. Notes, 2nd col. line 15 from top, for "Trojan" read "Trojam."  
 — 82. Line 323, *dele* comma after "gates."  
 — 82. Notes, 1st col. line 7 from top, for "EN. ii, 81," read "EN. i, 81."  
 — 84. Notes, 2nd col. line 13 from bottom, for "ane" read "and."  
 — 91. Line 392, for "ineluctible" read "ineluctable."  
 — 91. Notes, 2nd col. line 10 from top, after the word "ditch," add, "For an example of *arx*, used in this general sense, see EN. x, 805."  
 — 95. Line 481, for "knotless locks" read "locks dishevelled."  
 — 101. Notes, 1st col. line 8 from bottom, for "tute" read "tutte."  
 — 105. Line 629, for "now, and now," read "now—and now—."  
 — 115. Notes, 2nd col. line 4 from bottom, for "522" read "552."





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6/6

